

# Perumals of Kerala

M.G.S. Narayanan



**PERUMĀḤS OF KERALA**  
**Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual Monarchy**

*Political and Social Conditions of Kerala*  
*Under the Cēra Perumāḥs of Makōtai*  
(c. AD 800 – AD 1124)

**M. G. S. NARAYANAN**

## Index to Cēra Inscriptions

**Table A - Records Dated with Regnal years and Royal names**

No.	A. 1
Place:	Tiruvāṟṟuvāy in Vāḷappaḷḷi village. Owned by Mūviḍattu Maḍham, Tiruvalla.
Material:	Copper plate; single plate with writing on both sides. 5 + 5 lines. Incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
Date:	King Rājaśekhara, Rājarājādhirāja Paramēśwara Bhaṭṭāraka. Regnal Year 12, C. 830 AD. This king was immediate predecessor of Tāṇu Ravi (Coronation 844 AD) as per the testimony of Sanskrit poet Vāsubhaṭṭa, who claims to be the courtier of two kings, Rājaśekhara and Kulaśekhara.
Contents:	Temple Committee resolution in king's presence. Tiruvāṟṟuvāy Paṭiṇeṭṭu nāṭṭār, Vāḷappaḷḷi Ūrār, and Rājaśekhara dēva deciding on land grant for Muṭṭāppali (Daily Offering in temple).
Publication:	T.A.S., II, no.2, pp. 8-14. Photo, Tamil transliteration, English translation, and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, <i>Parināmaṅgaḷ</i> , pp. 74-75. Malayalam transliteration of revised text, Malayalam translation, and notes.
Remarks:	Probably the earliest Cēra inscription. It begins with 'Namasśivāya' in place of the usual 'swasti śri' and mentions the coin Dināra.
No.	A. 2
Place:	Kollam (Quilon); Owned by Old Syrian Christian Seminary, Kottayam.
Material:	Copper Plate; two plates with writings on both sides of the first plate and on one side of the second plate. 12+8+7 lines. Incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
Date:	King Tāṇu Ravi, Ko. Regnal Year 5. Coronation 844 AD as per court astronomer Śankaranārāyaṇa in <i>Laghubhāskariyavyākhyā</i> , see Eḷamkuḷam, 'Sthāṇuraviyūṭe kālam', <i>Ēṭukaḷ</i> , pp. 95-106.
Contents:	Royal Charter. Ayyan Aṭṭikal, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, Adhikārar, Prakriti, Maṇikkirāmaṇ, Añcuvannam, and Punnaittalaipatti grant serfs to Tarsāppaḷḷi, the church of Tarsa. Witnesses mentioned.
Publication:	LA., III, pp. 315 ff. Photo, Eng. Translation and notes; Gundert, <i>MJ.L.S.</i> , XIII, I, p. 118. Eng. Translation; T.A.S., II, no.9(1), pp. 62-70. Photo, Tamil transliteration,

Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkuḷam*, 'Tarisāppaḷippaṭṭayam', *Praśnaṅga*, II, pp. 13-17. Malayalam transliteration of revised text, Malayalam translation and notes.

**Remarks:** It reveals the Cēra patronage of Christianity and refers to royal dues and foundation of Kollam (Quilon) by Mār Sāpir Iśō who founded a church also there.

**No.** A. 3

**Place:** Irinñālakkuda; formerly lying in the courtyard of Kūḍalmāṇikkam temple. Now fixed on the bottom portion of the inside wall of the first prakāra.

**Material:** Stone; single slab of granite with writing on one side. Approx 3' X 5'. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Tāṇu Ravi, Ko. Regnal Year 11, 855 AD. See Kollam Tarisāppaḷi inscription of the 5<sup>th</sup> year for date of coronation.

**Contents:** Temple Committee resolution. Iruṅkāṭikkūṭal Paratāiyār and Iḷaiyar meet and unanimously decide to lease out land for some purpose.

**Publication:** R.V.R.I.B., IX, I, p. 43. Earlier version published in R.V.R.I.B., VIII, II, p. 125. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

**Remarks:** Textual correction by present writer from original - Read 'aṇaivatu' in place of 'araivatu' in L.12.

**No.** A. 4

**Place:** Tiruvāṇṇuvāy; Owned by Mūviḍattu Mēccēri illam, Tiruvalla.

**Material:** Copper Plate; single plate with writing on both sides. 7-1 lines. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Tāṇu Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 17, 861 AD. See Kollam Tarsāppaḷi inscription of the 5<sup>th</sup> year for date of coronation.

**Contents:** Temple Committee resolution. Tiruvāṇṇuvāy Sabhal and Aṭikaḷmār meet and unanimously finalize Āvaṇi Ōṇam feast arrangements with land donated by Puṇcaipṭaṭākāratu Cētan Caṅkaran.

**Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 9 (II) pp. 85-86. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkuḷam*, *Parināmangaḷ*, pp. 76-7. Mal. transliteration of the revised text, Malayalam translation and notes.

**Remarks:** It contains the earliest epigraphic reference to Ōṇam in Kerala. The hypothetical letters in brackets inserted in the T.A.S. version to conform to rules of Tamil grammar are to be deleted.

**No.** A. 5

**Place:** Tillaisthāṇam, Tanjore dt., Tamilnadu.

**Material:** Stone; slab of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Tamil.

**Date:** King Rājakeśarivarman, Toṇḍaināḍu Pāviṇa Cōlan Palyāṇai, Kō Kandan, and King Cēramān Tāṇu Ravi, Kō. Regnal years not mentioned. 844-5 AD. This Rājakeśarivarman was usually identified with Āditya Cola. For new identification and date see Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, *Kāñcīpuram in Early South India History*, pp. 192-4

and also M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Sthānurvaiyūṭe Kālam- Cīla Tiruttaluka', *Aṭisthānaśūlakal*, pp. 114-21.

- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Kadamba Mahādēvi, wife of Vikki Anṇan who was granted military honours jointly by Cōḷa and Cēra monarchs, donates sheep for maintenance of lamp in temple.
- Publication:** No. 286 of 1911. T.A.S., II, No.9 (II a) pp. 76-7. Tamil Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. S.J.I., III, p. 89. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks:** Evidence of Cōḷa-Cēra co-operation in military ventures in Gaṅga-Kadamba region.
- No.** A. 6
- Place:** Kollam (Quilon); Owned by Old Syrian Christian Seminary, Kottayam.
- Material:** Copper Plate; three plates with writing on both sides. 13 + 14 + 14 + 13 + 21 + 15 lines. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. The third plate contains a number of signatures in Kufic (10 lines) Pahlavi (18 lines) and Hebrew (8 lines) scripts. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Tāṇu Ravi? Close of the reign? C.883 AD. Coronation 844 AD. See Kollam Tarsāppaḷḷi inscription of the 5<sup>th</sup> year for date of coronation. Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Governor of Vēṇaṭu figures in the Kollam inscription of the 5<sup>th</sup> year as well as here but Rāma Tiruvaṭikaḷ, junior prince, also figures here.
- Contents:** Royal Charter. Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ Vijayarāgādēvar (royal representative), Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Tiruvaṭikaḷ (senior prince of Vēṇaṭu), Rāma Tiruvaṭikaḷ (junior prince of Vēṇaṭu), Adhikārar, Prakriti, Arunūṟruvar, Punnalṭtalaippati, and Pulaikkūṭṭipati granting land and serfs to Tarsāppaḷḷi, built by Mār Sūpir Iṣō, founder of Kollam (Quilon) and conferring privileges on Añcuvannam, and Maṇṅkīrāmam.
- Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 9 (II), pp. 80-5. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Elamkūjam, 'Tarsāppaḷḷippattayam' *Prasnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 18-24. Mal. transliteration, Mal. translation and notes. For the third plate which is omitted in both publications, See C.P.T. Winkworth and others, "Foreign Signatures on Quilon Plate", K.S.P. series 6, pp. 320-23.
- Remarks:** It gives proof of the status and privileges of trading corporations in Kerala.
- No.** A. 7
- Place:** Tirunandikkara; Courtyard of the structural temple.
- Material:** Stone. Slab of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines. Incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Tamil.
- Date:** King Kulasēkharādēva and his son-in law Vijayarāgādēva. Regnal year not mentioned. C. 883 AD. Tāṇu Ravi had the title of Kulasēkhara according to his court astronomer Śankaranārāyaṇa and Vijayarāga acted as the royal representative according to the second set of Kollam Tarsāppaḷḷi plates. That Vijayarāga succeeded Tāṇu Ravi on the throne is clear from his titles Kēraḷarāja and Cēramānār in a Tiruvorṇṇiyir Inscription of Cōḷa Parāntaka, 29<sup>th</sup> year, 936 AD, which records a donation by his daughter. He may therefore be provisionally identified with Kōṭa Ravi who started ruling from 883 AD according to a Neḍumpuram Talḷi inscription of the 17<sup>th</sup> year of Kōṭa Ravi.

**Contents:** Temple Committee resolution. Tirunāḍikkaraḥ Perumakkal, Tajiyaivān, and Kaṇakkār meeting to receive ten kaṇaṇu of gold from Iravi Nīli alias Kijān Aṭṭal, daughter of Kulaśēkharadēva and wife of Vijayarāgadēva, for Nandāvilakku in temple.

**Publication:** T.A.S., IV, no.36 pp. 144-5. Tamil transliteration Eng. translation and notes.

**Remarks:** Read 'Kaṇakkār' in place of 'Kanakkar' in LL1 and 3 (correction by the present writer from the original stone). This inscription establishes the relationship between Kulaśēkhara and Vijayarāga.

**No.** A. 8

**Place:** Cōkkūr, Puttūr village; Courtyard of the ruined temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on three sides. 33 × 26 × 35 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal Year 15, 898 AD (Coronation 883 AD). See Neḍumpuram Tālī inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17<sup>th</sup> year, for discussion of date. Since Vijayarāga the son-in law of Sthānu Ravi Kulaśēkhara whose daughter was alive in 936 AD is known to have succeeded the latter, Kōta Ravi may be taken to be the personal name of the king who had Vijayarāga as his title.

**Contents:** Temple inscription by the founder of institution. Karkkōṭṭupurathu Kaṭampān Kumaran makes land grant for the routine expenses like Nivēḍya, Viṭṭakku, Śānti, Akkiram, Aṭai and Bali in Kumaranārāyaṇapura temple. Fine is prescribed for offences and Mūlikkaḷavyavasthai is quoted. The third face of the stone seems to contain a separate inscription giving details of other, probably later, donations to the temple. Perumtaccan, Ciṇṇaraiyil Nānkaiyār, Cēravannāṭṭu Ceṭṭiyār etc. mentioned there.

**Publication:** No. 13 of 1901. S.I.L., VII, no. 173, p. 72. Tamil transliteration.

**Remarks:** Read 'aḍaikkū' for 'tuḍaikkū' in L. 33. 'nivēḍyappurattir' for 'nivēḍyappurathatir' in L. 39, 'aḍayum' for 'tuḍaiyun' in L. 45 and add 'akkira' after 'Cānti' in L. 46. (correction by the present writer from original stone). This inscription is generally believed to contain the earliest reference to a nānkai (dancing girl in the temple) but this is doubtful as the term occurs in the third face of the stone after the original inscription is completed. This is the earliest inscription so far discovered to refer to the Mūlikkaḷavyavasthai or agreement of Mūlikkaḷam quoted in records from all parts of Kerala. This was wrongly reported as belonging to Ponnani taluk in Malabar in S.I.L., VII, p. 72 and the mistake was repeated in R.V.R.I.B., I, p. 40 and Eḷamkūḷam, Eṭṭukal. (Second Edn.), p. 82.

**No.** A. 9

**Place:** Neḍumpuram Tālī, Ticcūr village. Fixed into the half wall in the entrance corridor on the left side.

**Material:** Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on one side. 14×26 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 17, Jupiter in Mithuṇa, 900 AD. The passage 'Kāliyuḡam nālayirattumoppata' is found at the end of the inscription. This was deciphered as 'Kāliyuḡam nālayirattumoppata' and interpreted as Kali era 4030 by A.G. Warriar. Since that year did not agree with the position of Jupiter, Prof. Eḷamkūḷam suggested 4035, the last letters being assumed to have been lost or

damaged. However, there is no trace of additional letters even though there is enough space. The new reading offered by the present writer agrees with the position of Jupiter also. The Government epigraphists had ascribed some Kōta Ravi inscriptions to the 12<sup>th</sup> century on paleographical grounds but all of them contain the same script and language.

**Contents:** Temple Committee resolution. Nityavicārēśvarattu Taliyar, and Taḷi Adhikāraṁ meeting in the presence of Kōtai Iravi, Governor of Veṇṇolināṣṭu, to accept the land grant of Ukkiramaṅgalam and Iyāṅamaṅgalam for the routine expenses of the temple including payments to Kāntarpiṅkan, Naṅgaimār, Karaṇan, Ōrviyan and Naṭṭuvapār. Fine is prescribed for offences.

**Publication:** Nos. 344 and 343 of 1924. A.G. Warrier, "Taḷi Inscriptions of the Cochin State", *L.H.O.*, IV, pp. 154-55. Eng. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *T.A.S.*, VIII, pp. 43-45. Tamil transliteration. Parameswaran Pillai. *Prācīnalikhitāṅgaḷ*, pp. 159-62. Mal. Transliteration of revised text, Mal. Translation and notes. Only the first 14 lines are given there. See also Elamkulam, *Prasṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 57-8. Discussion of date.

**Remarks:** The two halves of the inscription are registered separately as Nos. 15 and 17 of 1106 ME in *T.A.S.* and nos. 344 and 343 in the *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1924 without observing their connection. The content, script and proximity of the slabs indicate that they are one. Read 'uttama madhayama adhamathināl' in place of 'tavaiyam anpathināl' in L.13. (Correction suggested by V.R. Parameswaran Pillai. *Prācīnalikhitāṅgaḷ*, pp. 159-62 and confirmed by the present writer from direct observation). Read 'Tirukkōyilutaiyar kuṇaiṇiṇāl' for 'Tirukkōyilu... tevināl' in L. 17 (correction by the present writer). Read 'puraliyāṁ' for 'ariyāṁ' in L. 24, 25 & 26. Read 'kalyukam nāḷayirattumoppata' in place of 'kalyukam nāḷayirattumuppata' in L.40 in all previous versions. (Correction by the present writer).

This is the only Cēra inscription before the Kollam record of Rāma Kulasekhara, 13<sup>th</sup> year, (1102 AD) which gives both the regnal year and another era at the same time. It mentions Naṅgalyār (temple dancing girls) as well Kāntarpiṅkar, Ōrviyan, and Naṭṭuvan.

**No.** A.10

**Place:** Avittattūr, Paved in the courtyard of the temple near the Sōpāna.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 26 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 20. Jupiter in Kaggi, Month of Vrischika, 903 AD. See Neḍumpuṇam Taḷi Inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17<sup>th</sup> year, for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Irāyiravar, Irupattēḷuvar, and the two Kuṭippottuvāḷ of Āvattiputtūr meeting in the temple and unanimously making provision for placing the Cērikkal of Cēramān Mātēviyar (Cēra queen) as a ḷeḷ under Āvatti-puttūr. The respective rights of the Ōr Utaiyavakaḷ and Ōrāḷar are carefully defined and Kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccam is quoted. Witnesses mentioned.

**Publication:** No. 362 of 1927. B.R.V.R.L., VIII, II, pp. 127-30. Mal. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *L.H.Q.*, IV, no. 1, pp. 154-5. Eng. Transliteration translation and notes.

**Remarks:** Read "niyatimunnāliyal irunālicceytaricikku āttamum" in place of "niyappapā... nāliyal irunālicceytaricikkumuttāntu" in L. 6-7. Read "kuṭikaḷaikkuraivitum" in place of "kuṭikaḷkkuraivitum" in L.15. Read "valayai paraiyavum" in place of "palalai pareyavum" in L.16. Read "mulavāyir" in place of 'mulaktira' in L.17. Read "cāntiaṭṭikaḷkkuraivigār" in L.22. (Corrections made by the present writer from original stone).

This is the only record mentioning a Cēra queen from Kerala. It is also the only record giving details of rights of Ūruṭaiyavakaḷ and Ūrālar in respect of a kiḷiṭu and one of the two records containing reference to 'Kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccam'. Mentions that the deed was first written out in an ōlai (palm-leaf) and then transcribed on stone.

**No.** A. 11

**Place:** Aviṭṭattūr, Paved in the courtyard of the temple to the right of the Śrīkōyil a few feet away from the Sōpāna.

**Material:** Stone. Slab of granite with writing on one side. 28 lines. Highly damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 20. Jupiter in Kanni, Month of Vriścika, 903 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17<sup>th</sup> year, for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple Committee resolution. (Irāyiravar), Irupattēḷuvar and the two kuṭippotuvāls meet and unanimously decide probably on the assignment of lands for expenses of the temple. Witnesses are mentioned.

**Publication:** No.361 of 1927 - Unpublished. Copied from the site by the present writer and K.K.N. Kurup on 28<sup>th</sup> February '70.

**Remarks:** This is a record of the same year and month as no.10 above and the same set of people are mentioned but the purpose does not appear to have been the same.

**No.** A. 12

**Place:** Aviṭṭattūr, Paved in the courtyard of the temple, a few feet away from the Sōpāna.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 18 lines. Highly damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 20. Jupiter in Kanni, 903 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Tālī inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17<sup>th</sup> year, for a discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple Committee resolution. Irāyiravar, Irupattēḷuvar and the two kuṭippotuvāls of Āvaṭṭiputtūr unanimously make decisions regarding some plots which are made Kiḷiṭu of the temple. Kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccam is mentioned.

**Publication:** No. 360 of 1927. Unpublished. Copied from the site by the present writer and K.K.N. Kurup on 28<sup>th</sup> Feb. '70.

**Remarks:** This is a record of the same year as No.10 and No. 11 above by the same group of people, but apparently registering a different resolution.

**No.** A. 13

**Place:** Tripparaṅgōde. Originally the base of a pillar in the Śrī Kṛṣṇa shrine of the Śiva temple; transferred to the collector's bungalow, Kozhikode, and later, following a



request from the present writer, transferred to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur.

**Material:** Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 25+26+27 lines. Script - Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 27, 910 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17<sup>th</sup> year, for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Tirupparaṅkōṭṭu Paraṭaimār, Ūr paṭṭār, Āḷa Kōyil, and Potuvāḷ, meeting in the temple and unanimously making decisions about the management and lease of the entire landed property of the temple the proceeds of which are to be used for all the routine expenditure. Tavarṇūr kaccam is quoted. Fine prescribed for offences.

**Publication:** No. 219 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, no. 783, pp. 337-8. Photo and Tamil transliteration. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācināḷikhitāṅgaḷ*, pp. 162-8. Mal. Transliteration; summary and notes. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭiṣṭhānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 45-60. Mal. Transliteration of revised text, Mal. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This is one of the three inscriptions referring to Tavarānūr-kaccam, the other two being undated inscriptions of Cōkiram temple. The place name of Tavarānūr which gave the kaccam its name survives today in Tavanūr, a village between Trippa-ṅgōde and Cōkiram (Śukapuram) on the South bank of R. Pērār. The meaning of the Kaccam is interpreted by the present writer in the passage cited above.

Read Ūr paṭṭār for 'Ūr paṭṭār' in L.8; 'akkuru paraivituṁ' for 'pūkkunru-vinam' in L. 47-8; 'tuṭannai' for 'tuṭantai' in L. 74; 'Ūraḷaṅka kōyilmāṇiṭamāka' in L. 89-91. (corrections by the present writer from original stone).

**No.** A. 14

**Place:** Poṟaṇṇāṭṭiri, courtyard of the temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on four sides. Fourth face completely damaged. 27+25+25+2 lines. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 27, 910 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17<sup>th</sup> year, for date. Name and year of the king are omitted in the published version.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Mūttār, Iḷaiyār, Koyil, Āḷakōyil, and the two Kuṭipotuṭuvāḷs of Poṟaṇṇāṭṭūr, meet and unanimously decide to lease out Akanāḷikaiccelavu, Brahmasvam, Dēvasvam, and Paṟruvaḷi lands on behalf of the sabha. Fine is prescribed for offences. Mūḷikkaḷattu cavattai is quoted.

**Publication:** No. 11 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 171. Tamil transliteration.

**Remarks:** Read "Kōkkōtai iravikku cellāniṅṟa yāṇṭu irupattelu" in place of "Kō-- Vikku cellāniṅṟa—pattelu" in L. 1-4. Read "Poṟankōṭṭūr Mūthār" in place of "Poṟankōṭṭūr amaiṇṇār" in L. 5-6. Read "Tankaḷuḷavum pērār" in place of "tavakaḷuḷavum pērār" in L. 17-8. Read "ippanṇu" in place of "ippanṭu" in L. 31-2. Read "cavattai" in place of 'caṭattai' in L. 33-4. (corrections by the present writer from original stone on 7-12-'61 and checked with estampage in the Govt. Epigraphist's office on 22-5-'70). Mūḷikkaḷam agreement is cited.

- No. A. 15
- Place: Indianūr, near Kōṭṭakkal. Buried in front of balikkal in temple. Recently transferred to the Department of History, Calicut University.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite containing two separate inscriptions, one on either side. 14 lines- Incomplete. Script - Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 27, 910 AD. See Neḍumpuṇam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17<sup>th</sup> year, for date.
- Contents: Paṇṭaiyār, ḷaiyār, ḷlamuṭaiyār, and Potuvāḷ of Indianūr and the Kōyil meet in the temple to decide on utilization of land grant to the temple.
- Publication: No. 287 of 1937. Unpublished. The present writer prepared the text from the original stone.
- Remarks: This is the only slab so far discovered with inscriptions of two separate kings on either side of a single piece.
- No. A. 16
- Place: Trippuṇṭittura. Originally part of the Western Cuṭṭampalam of Santāna Gopālakṣṣṇa temple; shifted to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur, after it was broken to pieces at the time of the fire in 1921 which burnt down the temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 13 Lines. 5' x 2' x 1'. Script - Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 30, 913 AD. See Neḍumpuṇam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17<sup>th</sup> year, for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Piccapparatāiyār, and Potuvāḷ, meeting in the presence of Iravi Atican, who was Amaicci (Minister) unanimously regulate the affairs of the temple. Fine prescribed for offences. Written by Pūṇithuṇai Cāttan Kumaran.
- Publication: T.A.S., VI, no. 52, p. 64. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. A.R.A.D.C. for 1927-8. Section II, pp. 11-12 and plate VII. Photo, Mal. Transliteration. Eng. translation and notes. Elamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmangal*, pp. 80-1. Mal. Transliteration and notes.
- Remarks: This mentions the latest regnal year of Kōta Ravi so far discovered. The script was attributed provisionally to the 12<sup>th</sup> century by the Travancore Govt. epigraphists and the record itself to Kōta Ravi, brother-in-law of Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekharaḍēva. However, it clearly belongs to the earlier Cēra Kōta Ravi of the Neḍumpuṇam Taḷi inscription, 17<sup>th</sup> year, by script and language.
- No. A. 17
- Place: Tiruvorriyūr, Madras, Tamilnadu. Built into the Verandah round the central shrine of Ādhipurīśwara temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Tamil Grantha and Tamil. Language- Sanskrit and Tamil.
- Date: King Matirai Koṇḍa Parakēśari (Cōḷa Parāntaka I) Regnal year 29, 936 AD. Mentions Kēraḷarāja Vijayarāga or Cēramānār Vijayarāga dēvar as the father of the donor but he may or may not have been alive at the time.

**Contents:** Temple Inscription. *ṭravi Nīlī*, daughter of Kēraḷarāja Vijayarāga (Cēramānār Vijayarāgadēva), called *Kiḷān Aṭikaḷ* in the Tamil portion, donates gold for Nandāvilakku in temple. Rate of interest specified.

**Publication:** No. 169 of 1912. *S.I.I.*, III, no. 103, pp. 235-6. Tamil transliteration.

**Remarks:** This inscription which gives Vijayarāga the titles of Kēraḷarāja and Cēramānār, clearly establishes that this prince mentioned as *Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ* (Royal representative) in the second set of Kollam Tarsāppalli copper plates of Sthānu Ravi and as the son-in law of Kulasēkhara (this title of Sthānu Ravi is mentioned by his courtier Śankaranārāyaṇa in *Laḡhubhāskarīyavākhyā*) in a Tirunandikkara inscription, succeeded his father-in-law on the throne.

**No.** A. 18

**Place:** Kāvuntara. In the compound of the Ūraḷan of Kāvil temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 8 line. Incomplete. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kōta Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 4. C. 943 AD. The Script and language suggest the early part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This king might have filled the gap or part of the gap between Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga (last known regnal year 30-913 AD) and Indu Kōta (coronation 944 AD).

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Kāvil Mūttār and Iḷaiyār making some agreement regarding expenses of Viḷakku, Nivēdyam, and Śrībali in the temple.

**Publication:** No. 285 of 1937. Unpublished.

**Remarks:** This record introduces a Cēra king, who is not known from other sources. The present writer copied the text from the original stone. The second half is practically illegible.

**No.** A. 19

**Place:** Trikkākara. Left of entrance into the temple.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 10 lines, each spreading out on several stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kēraḷa Kēsari, Perumāḷ. Regnal year Nil (damaged), C. 913 AD. This endowment for the routine expenses of the temple may belong to the time of the foundation or renovation of the temple. The earliest dated inscription from this temple belongs to the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Indu Kōta, i.e. 953 AD. Therefore this record and the king mentioned there may be assigned to the period prior to 943 A.D, the starting point of Indu Kōta's reign. The script and language belong to the early part of 10<sup>th</sup> century. This is the view of the Government Epigraphist also. It is likely that Kēraḷa Kēsari may be the coronation name of a king, probably Kōta Kōta whose record as found at Kāvuntara.

**Contents:** Temple Inscription. Land is set apart for meeting expenses of Tiruvamistu, Pūtapali, Oḷukkavi, Cānti, Paḷittāmaṃ and Tiruvakkiram and for the payment of temple servants. Fine for default is prescribed.

**Publication:** T.A.S., III, no. 46. pp. 186-8. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Engl. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This record appears to contain the original endowment of Trikkākara Viṣṇu temple, one of the foremost Vaiṣṇava centres in Kerala, associated with Ōṇam celebration and mentioned by Nammālvār.

**No.** A. 20.

**Place:** Mānipuram. Courtyard of the private temple in the compound of Makkāṭṭu maṇa, Paṇambathu Kāvu.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 23 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Indu Kōṭa, Kō. Regnal year 3. 946 AD (coronation 943 AD). The name of the king is not found in the published version. See Trikkākara Inscription of Indu Kōṭa, 16<sup>th</sup> year and 17<sup>th</sup> year for date.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Potuvāl and Paraṭaiyār make some arrangements with land set apart for akanāḷikai expenses of the temple and lamps there.

**Publication:** No. 12 of 1901. S.L.I., VII, no. 172, pp. 71-2. Tamil transliteration. The royal name was deciphered by the present writer from the original stone. (7-12-'61).

**Remarks:** Read 'Swasti Śrī Kōvintukkōṭai varmarukku' in place of '----- n----- nukku' in Li. 1-2. Read 'Potuvāḷum Paraṭaiyārum mānipurattu tēvarkku' in place of 'aṭaiyanam patuvanma----- Tēvarkku' in Li. 4 5. (corrections by the present writer from the original stone.) This is the earliest regnal year of Indukōṭai found in inscriptions and the same year is found in another inscription at Pudukkōḍe also.

**No.** A. 21

**Place:** Pudukkōḍe. West passage of the Bhagavati temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 9 lines (incomplete) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King. Indēśwaran Kōṭai (Indu Kōṭa), Kō. Regnal year 3. 946 AD. (Coronation 943 AD). See Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōṭa, 16<sup>th</sup> year and 17<sup>th</sup> year, for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Contents beyond the first three lines illegible. Paṭiṇeṭṭunāṭṭār of Pudukkōḍe mentioned.

**Publication:** No. 354 of 1924, unpublished. The present writer examined the original and checked his text with the estampage in the Govt. Epigraphists' office, Mysore, on May '71.

**Remarks:** This, along with the previous one from Mānipuram, gives the earliest regnal year of the king found in inscriptions. This is one of the two inscriptions giving the name of Indu Kōṭa as Indēśwaran Kōṭa, which was probably his full name. The other one of the 17<sup>th</sup> year comes from Neḷumpuṇam Tāji temple.

**No.** A. 22

**Place:** Tīruvanvaṇḍūr. Base of the curṭumanḍapa.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines. Incomplete and damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Indu Kōṭai, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 5? 948 AD? See Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōṭa, 16<sup>th</sup> year and 17<sup>th</sup> year, for date.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Munnūṟṟuvar of Nanṟuḷaiṉāṟu and three others making some arrangements in the temple.

**Publication:** T.A.S., V, no. 10, p. 34. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This damaged and incomplete inscription established the fact that terms like Munnūṟṟuvar are applied not to the body of three hundred as a whole as interpreted by scholars till now, but to one person, probably the leader of that body. It is clearly mentioned that Munnūṟṟuvar and three others made a group of four at the meeting in the temple. The earlier assumption had led some scholars to visualize democratic assemblies of three hundred, five hundred, six hundred etc. and consequently a republican government in Kerala.

**No.** A. 23

**Place:** Tirumūḷikkāḷam. East base of the curṟumaṇḍapa in the temple.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 8 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Indu Kōṭa, Kō. Regnal year 5, 948 AD. See Trikkāḷara inscriptions of Indu Kōṭa, 16<sup>th</sup> year and 17<sup>th</sup> year, for date.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. The Śrīkāryam (affairs of the temple) is regulated. Provision for Tiruvamirtu, Nivēdyam, Uttamākkiram for Cāttirar, and Tiruviḷakku are mentioned.

**Publication:** T.A.S., III, no. 48, pp. 189-91. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkuḷam, Parināmaṅgaḷ*, p. 81. Mal. Transliteration and notes.

**Remarks:** This is the earliest inscription from the Mūḷikkāḷam temple, made famous by the Mūḷikkāḷa kaccam or agreement of Kerala. The original of the Mūḷikkāḷa kaccam has not been traced.

**No.** A. 24

**Place:** Trikkāḷara. Courtyard of the temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 18 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Indēśvaran Kōṭa (Indu Kōṭa), Kō. Regnal year 10 (5 + 5), Jupiter in Mīṇam, Month of Mēṭam, 953 AD. See Trikkāḷara inscriptions of Indu Kōṭa, 16<sup>th</sup> year and 17<sup>th</sup> year, for date.

**Contents:** Temple inscription. Record of gift of lamp and land by Catiraśikhāmaṇi alias Kīḷān Aṭṭiḷaḷ, probably a Cēra princess (also called Perumāṭṭiyar) for Nandāviḷakku and Tiruvakkiram. Fine is prescribed for default by the Uḷpāṭan.

**Publication:** T.A.S., III, no. 36, pp. 169-171. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkuḷam, Parināmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 81-2. Mal. Transliteration and notes.

**Remarks:** Read 'irutuṭam neyyum' in both the published texts in place of 'irutulām neyyum' in Ll. 7-8. (correction by the present writer from the original).

This inscription confirms the fact, noticed earlier in the case of the wife and daughter of Vijayarāgaḍēva, that Cēra princesses were known by the general title Kīḷān Aṭṭiḷaḷ.

- No.** A. 25
- Place:** Trikkākara. South base of the proper right of entrance into the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite. 7 lines, each spread over all the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Indu Kōta (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 16 (11 + 5) Jupiter in Ciṅgam, 959 AD. Velliānpallī Pōlan Cāttan, a witness in this record and in another Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 17<sup>th</sup> year, must be the father of Velliānpallī Cāttan Kumaran who figures as witness in a Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 13<sup>th</sup> year. (A Series) 975 AD. See Index No. A. 30. Panrutturutti Kaṇṇan Pōlan, a witness, must be the father of Panrutturutti Pōlan Kumaran of Bhāskara Ravi, year 31, (B series) from the same place. See Index No. A. 45. These and the similarity of script and language go to establish that Indu Kōta was the immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravi (A series- initial year 962 AD). For other instances of witness identity in Indu Kōta and Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions, refer Trikkākara inscription, of Indu Kōta, 17<sup>th</sup> year and Elamkulam, *Prasāṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 146-148 also. The latest regnal year mentioned for Indu Kōta is seventeen. He came to the throne when Jupiter stood in Mithuṇam. Therefore, his accession to power may be placed in 943 AD on the assumption that he did not have a long rule beyond the 18<sup>th</sup> year of his reign.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Kaṇṇan Puṛayan, governor of Kāḷkkaraināṭu, surrenders land partly as gift and partly in return for gold from the Uṇṇātan and Perumutiyan of Tiruḷkāḷkkarai. The proceeds of the land are to be used for Tiruvakkiram, Āṣṭinai, Kānci, Nandāvilakku, etc. by leasing it out to tenants. Fine is prescribed for offences and witnesses and the scribe are mentioned. Mūḷikkalaṁ kaccam is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S. III, no. 35, pp. 161-9. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Elamkulam, *Parināmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 84-5. Mal. Transliteration and notes (Extracts only).
- Remarks:** This inscription provides the clue to the date of Indu Kōta through witnesses' names. It also helps to identify the period of other inscriptions where the king's name is not mentioned or the regnal year is doubtful.
- This inscription illustrates the procedure of purchase of land by the temple. Read 'Pūmiyūm pulaiyariyūm' in place of 'pūmiyūm puṇaiyareyūm' in T.A.S., and 'pūmiyūm karayūm' in Elamkulam, *Parināmaṅgaḷ*, in L.I. Read 'akkira' in place of 'akkiram' in L.I. 2 & 3. Read 'muḷḷu muyiru mūrkkapāmpum' in place of 'muḷḷu muyiru makkavamaiyūm' in L.4. Read 'amaccuḷḷurutta' in place of 'amaccuḷḷu-marṭa' in L.4. Delete 'r', 'ka', 'cu' and 'm' put in brackets in T.A.S. version to suit the Tamil grammatical rules in L.I. 5 and 6. (corrections by the present writer from the original).
- No.** A. 26
- Place:** Trikkākara. Outside base of the south and east cūrṇmaṇḍapa of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite. 6 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Indu Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 17. Month of Dhanu. This portion and the portion showing position of Jupiter are damaged but Kaṇṇan Puṛayan, Governor of Kāḷkkaraināṭu, Velliānpallī Pōlan Cāttan, one of the witnesses, and Kumankottu

Iraivi Kunrappōlan, the scribe who appeared in Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16<sup>th</sup> year, appear in this too. Moreover the term 'Kanggi' may be made out with difficulty in the passage related to Jupiter position. Therefore, the record may be attributed to the 17<sup>th</sup> year when Jupiter stood in Kanggi. 960 AD.

Perumapaikkōttattu Kēcavan caṅkaran, a witness in this record, figures as witness in another Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 6<sup>th</sup> year, (A series) also thus confirming the assumption that Indu Kōta was immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series) who came to throne in 962 AD. Perumapaikkōttattu Caṅkaran Tāmodaran appears in a Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 31 year (B series).

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution, Kaṇṇan Puṟaiyan, governor of Kāṭṭakaramaiṇu, surrenders to the temple, in return for payment of gold by Neṭiya taṭi Cōlacikkamani, plots of land exempting them from the payment of all dues to nāṭu, Vāṭṭai and Pati. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned.

**Publication:** T.A.S., III, no. 37, pp. 171-3. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This inscription is also helpful in fixing the period of Indu Kōta in relation to Bhāskara Ravi. Read 'Kaṅṇiyil viyājan' in place of '.....viyājan' in L.1. Read 'nāṭṭiṇṇu vāṭṭaikkuṇṇu patikkum' in place of 'nāṭṭiṇṇu vāṭṭaikkuṇṇu paṇikkum' in L.4. (Corrections by the present writer from original).

**No.** A. 27

**Place:** Neṭumpuṟam Taṭi. Built into the half wall of the entrance corridor of the temple on the left side.

**Material:** Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on one side. 20-18 lines. Second part highly damaged. Incomplete. Script-Vaiṭṭeṭuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Indēśvaran Kōta (Indu Kōta), Kō. Regnal year 17 (11 + 6). Jupiter in Kanggi. 960 AD. See Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16 the year and 17<sup>th</sup> year, for date.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Nityaviyārēśvarattu Paṭiṇṇu Nāṭṭār and Adhikārikaṭ meet in the presence of Maṇalanarattu Iyakkān Intirāyi Kōyil, Governor of Neṭumpuṟaiyūrnāṭu, in the shrine of Perumānār Pāṇṭan Cēnman and unanimously decide to lease out some land for Akkiram to Ukkiramaṅṅalam Pāṭṭamāṇṇavan. The mode of serving Akkiram and the means of overcoming difficulties are elaborated. Fine is prescribed for offences. Donors of Uttamākkiram including Mōṭṭaṭṭuppuṟattu Caṅkara Naṅṅacci are mentioned by name.

**Publication:** Nos. 341 and 342 of 1924. Nos. 6 and 13 of 1106 ME from cochin. T.A.S., VIII, p.43 and p.41. Tamil transliteration. The two portions presented as two separate inscription without observing their connection.

**Remarks:** Read, 'iyakkān Intirāyi' in place of 'iyakkān-----' in L.4 (First stone). Read 'ari ulvayalpiccu' in place of 'ari ulava vāyapiccu' in L.12. Read 'ārātikkumaṭi kaṭaikōṇṭu' in place of 'ārātikkumatikkēkkōṇṭu' in L. 12-13. Read 'irukkūṟu paṇaiyūm' in place of 'irukappāṇaiyūm' in L.17. Read 'kurai paṇaiṇu kēlpiccu' in place of 'kurai paṇaiṇu kaṭpiccu' L.19. Read 'muṭṭiraṭṭiyāl' in place of '.....yal' in L.21 (Second stone). This inscription mentions a shrine of Perumāṅṅār Pāṇṭan Cēnman, perhaps related to Pāṇḍya king Cēnman or Jayan-

tavarman. Brings out the importance of Viṣu in the months of Appiṣai and Cittirai. It mentions Uttamākkiram (for Cāttirar) and Caṅkara Naṅgacci (dancing girl of the temple.)

- No. A. 28
- Place: Trikkākara. Built into the outside wall of the south base of the first Prākāra on the right of entrance to the temple.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 5 lines which spread across the wall space moving from stone to stone. Incomplete. Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (varma) Kō. Regnal year 6 (2 + 4), (A series). Jupiter in Itavam, 968 AD. (Initial year 962 AD). Some Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions reckon the regnal years from an initial year with Jupiter in Dhanu; some others from an initial year with Jupiter in Mētam; and in a few others the Jupiter position is uncertain. They all belong to the same period as illustrated by the similarity of script and language. Therefore, the present writer has classified them into Series A, B and C for the sake of convenience, assuming that the two beginnings correspond respectively to an actual succession in childhood and a formal coronation at a later stage. The Bhaskara Ravi inscriptions of Series A, B and C are listed separately for easy reference, disturbing their chronological sequence to some extent. For the initial year of Series A, refer discussion of date of Perunna inscription of the 14<sup>th</sup> year, 976 AD.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ulpāṭan and Perumutiyan of Tirukkāḷkkaral haṇḍ over gold donated by Ciṟumaṇṇappuḷai Kōtai Kēraḷan for Akkiram to four brothers and accept as security their joint-family property which they are to cultivate as tenants of the temple, considering the rent as interest for the permanent loan. Rate of interest is indicated. Witnesses are mentioned.
- Publication: T.A.S. III, no. 42. pp. 179-182. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Parināmaṅgal*, p. 86. Mal. Transliteration and notes (Extracts only).
- Remarks: The donor, Ciṟumaṇṇappuḷai Kōtai Kēraḷan, appears in a Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 31<sup>st</sup> year, (B series) also. Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Kēcavan Caṅkaran, a witness in this record, is the same person who appears in another Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 17<sup>th</sup> year - a fact which establishes the Indu Kōta-Bhāskara Ravi sequence. Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Caṅkaran Tāmōtaran, who appears in a record of the 31<sup>st</sup> year, (Series B- Index No. A.45) must be the son of this person. This inscription throws light on a permanent loan system by which gold of the temple was transferred to tenants in return for annual dues. The coin 'Paṇāṅku' is mentioned.
- No. A. 29
- Place: Pantalāyaṇi Kollam. The upper frame of the Śrīkōyil entrance in Taḷi temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 25 lines? (21 + 4?) It appears that two lines at the beginning and two lines at the end are built over in the present structure. Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi? Regnal year 11 (2 + 9) (A series?). Jupiter in Tuḷam Month Mētam. AD 973. The first two lines containing the name of the king are built over but since the position of Jupiter in the 11<sup>th</sup> year agrees with the record



Bhāskara Ravi (A series) this record may provisionally be assigned to him. The character of script and language agree.

**Contents:** Temple inscription. The consecration of a temple in presence of Amaicullurutti Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ is recorded along with an endowment in gold for its maintenance.

**Publication:** Nil. This record was recently discovered and deciphered by the present writer on information from Ramachandran of Elayidathu house.

**Remarks:** This record brings out the date of establishment of the temple. The orthographic and linguistic features are of late 10<sup>th</sup> century supporting the identification of the king with Bhāskara Ravi (A series) based on the position of Jupiter in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the reign.

**No.** A. 30

**Place:** Trikkākara. Outside wall of the east base of the curṛumaṇḍapa of the temple.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite. 9 lines, each of them spread over the stones and the last line built over. Incomplete. Script-Vaiṭṭuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 13 (2 + 11) (A series). Jupiter in Makaram, 7<sup>th</sup> day, Month of Vriścikam, 975 AD. The year portion was wrongly deciphered as 23 (2 + 21) by the Government Epigraphist of Travancore. See Perunna Inscription 14<sup>th</sup> year (A series) for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Uḷpāṭan and Perumutiyan of Tirukkāḷkurai lend gold and receive land as security nominating the owners themselves as tenants of the temple paying fixed annual dues. Mentions the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Witnesses are mentioned.

**Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 7 (D), pp. 38-40. Photo, Tamil Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** Read 'Iraṇṭāmāṇṭaikkettir irupattōrāmāṇṭu' in place of 'Iraṇṭāmāṇṭaikkettir irupattōrāmāṇṭu' in L.I. Read 'paḷankāyainoppata' in place of 'paḷankāyainopatu' in L.2. (Corrections by the present writer from the original stone) Veḷḷiyānpaḷḷi Cāttan Kumaran who figures as witness here is the son of Veḷḷiyānpaḷḷi Pōḷan Cāttan who figures in the same capacity in two Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōṭa, 16<sup>th</sup> year and 17<sup>th</sup> year. This establishes the Indu Kōṭa-Bhāskara Ravi sequence. This presents another instance of permanent loan of gold from temple in lieu of share in cultivation. The coin 'Paḷankācu' is mentioned. Śrīvaiṣṇavas are mentioned. The year portion was wrongly deciphered as 23 (2 + 21) by the government epigraphists of Travancore. This mistake was pointed out by Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 144. F.N. It is clear from the photo published in T.A.S. also.

**No.** A. 31

**Place:** Trikkāḍiṭhānam. West and south base of the central shrine.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines, each line spreading over the stones. Script-Vaiṭṭuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi (Varman), Kō. (A Series). Regnal year 14 (2 + 12), 976 AD. This inscription does not indicate the position of Jupiter and as such it cannot be directly ascertained whether it belongs to series A or B. However, this inscription

of the 14<sup>th</sup> year which mentions the appointment of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, as Governor of Nanṇulaināṭu, must be placed in the same year as the Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14<sup>th</sup> year, which mentions this Governor in the dual capacity cited above. Therefore, it really belongs to Series A and is treated as such for calculation of date. See Perunna inscription, 14<sup>th</sup> year (A Series for discussion of date).

**Contents:** Royal order. The Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ (royal representative) appoints Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, as Governor of Nanṇulaināṭu also, fixes the annual dues from Tirukkaṭittānam, and orders the institution of Akkiram with the balance. Fine for violation of the order is prescribed.

**Publication:** T.A.S., II, no.7, (A), p. 33. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes (incomplete). T.A.S., V, no.56, pp. 176-8. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This is the only record so far discovered which mentions the appointment of the governor of a province. The fixation of annual dues from the temple is also worthy of notice.

**No.** A. 32

**Place:** Trikkāḍithānam. Upper face of the narrow Upāna (lowermost stone member) of the base of the central shrine.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on the narrow surface projecting outside. 1 line spread out on the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 14? (2 + 12?) (A series) 976 A.D? The regnal year portion is damaged and there is no mention of Jupiter position. However, the mention of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu and Nanṇulaināṭu, as the ruling chieftain, and the reference to the decision to continue the festival instituted by Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, suggest that the record was produced immediately after the death of Śrīvallavan Kōta and the appointment of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa as governor of the province. This latter event is mentioned in Trikkāḍithānam record of the 14<sup>th</sup> Year, (No. 31) cited above. Therefore, this record belongs to A Series and is taken as such for calculation of date. See Perunna Inscription, 14<sup>th</sup> year (A Series), for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple committee Resolution. While (Gōvarttana) Mārttāṇḍa was ruling over Nanṇulaināṭu, Uttirakkaṇattār of Tirukkaṭittānam, Niḷal and Paṇi decide to continue the Uttiraviḷa instituted by Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, even year in the month of Kumbham, with the usual routine of flag hoisting in Kārtikai, Brahmin feeding, Kūttu for ten days etc.

**Publication:** T.A.S., V, II, no. 61, PP. 187-9. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, Praśnaṅgaḷ, II, p. 138. Mal. Transliteration, Mal. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This record establishes the Śrīvallavan Kōta-Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa sequence in Vēṇaṭu which confirms the dating of Bhāskara Ravi based on astronomical data since the Māmpaḷli copper plate gives a firm date - 149 ME or 974 AD in the governorship of Śrīvallavan Kōta. This is also one of the few records referring to the performance of Kūttu in temple.

- No.** A. 33  
**Place:** Perumna, base of the central shrine  
**Material:** Stone. Block of granite. 2 lines running through the stones. (Beginning and end damaged or displaced.) Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.  
**Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 14 (2 + 12) (A Series). Jupiter in Makaram, 29<sup>th</sup> of Miṇam, Sunday, Puṇartam nakṣatra. The King's name is not in the text which begins with the regnal year. However, the mention of a governor of Vēṇaṭu who ruled over Nanṇujaināṭu makes it certain that it refers to Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, feudatory of Bhāskara Ravi, mentioned as such in several inscriptions. Therefore, it is inferred that the king is Bhāskara Ravi, over-lord of Gōvartana Mārttāṇḍa.

This record must be later than 149 ME (973 AD) when Śrīvallavan Kōta was the Governor of Vēṇaṭu. See *E.I.*, IX, p. 234 ff and *T.A.S.*, IV, no. 1, pp. 1-11. Gōvartana Mārttāṇḍa is posterior to Śrīvallavan Kōta as a Trikkāṭṭhānam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14<sup>th</sup> year, mentions the former in the present tense and the latter in the past tense. Swāmikkaṇṇu Pīlai calculated that the record could belong to 1060 AD but this makes Bhāskara Ravi's rule project into the period of Rāma Kulasekhara. Elamkulam has rejected this date. His new date, 976 AD, agrees with all the astronomical data. It also suits the Śrīvallavan Kōta-Gōvartana Mārttāṇḍa sequence. Therefore the initial year of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions (A series) must be placed in 962 AD.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Perunneytal Ūr, Potuvāḷ and Kiḷkkulaṅgarai sabha and Nārāyaṇan ciritaran of Pantāvūr meet in the presence of the governor of Vēṇaṭu ruling over Nanṇujaināṭu also. The rest is damaged.

**Publication:** *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (B), p. 34. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation, and notes. *Elamkulam, Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 40-5. Mal. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This short inscription with full astronomical data provides the basis for calculating the initial year of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series) inscriptions.

**No.** A. 34

**Place:** Cochin. Owned by the Jewish synagogue of Mattancheri, Cochin.

**Material:** Copper. Two plates with writing on both sides of the first and one side of the second plate. 28 lines (9 + 10 + 9). Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi (Varman), Kō Kōnmai Koṭṭān Kō. Regnal year 38, (2 + 36) (A series) 1000 AD. This inscription does not mention the position of Jupiter. However, Gōvartana Mārttāṇḍa, who became governor of Vēṇaṭu after Śrī-vallavan Kōta in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Bhāskara Ravi (976 AD), is found in this record of the 38<sup>th</sup> year also. If this record is placed in the B Series and dated 1016 AD it will be necessary to assume that Gōvartana Mārttāṇḍa governed for an unusually long period of 42 years. Moreover, the Cēra capital had already fallen to the enemy before that date. Therefore, it is more appropriate to place the record in the A Series and assign it to 1000 AD. See Perunna inscription, 14<sup>th</sup> year (A Series for discussion of date).

**Contents:** Royal Charter. While staying at Muyirikkōḍe, the sovereign is pleased to grant Issuppu Irappān (Joseph Rabban) a copper plate giving him Añcuvappam and

other privileges and exempting him from all payments made by other settlers at the same time extending to him all the rights of other settlers. These are given in perpetuity to all his descendants. The document is attested by the governors of Vēṇaṭu, Vempalanāṭu, Ēṛalanāṭu, Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, Neḍumpuṛayūrnāṭu and Commander of the forces and signed by the official scribe.

**Publication:** *E.I.*, III, p. 68 ff. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśṅgaṇaḷ*, pp. 32-4. Mal. Transliteration of the revised text, Mal. Translation and notes. There has been a long controversy over the date and content of these plates, which were among the first few from Kerala to attract the attention of scholars. For a history of the Plates and a history of the studies related to plates, see Gopinatha Rao, 'Some Inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvadi', *T.A.S.*, II, p. 31; Walter J. Fischel, 'The Exploration of the Jewish Antiquities of Cochín on the Malabar Coast', *The Cochín Synagogue 400th Anniversary Souvenir*, pp. 126-150; (this was reproduced in *Charitram*, no.1, pp. 9-28); M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Jewish Copperplates of Cochín', *Charitram*, no. 3. For early attempts at decipherment, interpretation and dating, see *M.J.L.S.*, XII, I, p. 137; *Ibid.* New series, V, p. 42.

**Remarks:** This record brings out the status and importance of the Jewish colony in the Cēra Capital and the relationship between the king and Jews in the period of the Cōḷa invasion. It gives the names of some of the chief feudatories of the Perumāḷ and proves that the ancient name of Muciri persisted in Muṇirikkōḍe.

**No.** A. 35

**Place:** Trikkākara. Base of the front maṇḍapa.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines each running across the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal 42 (40? + 2) (Series A) 1004 AD. Jupiter in Miṇam. The regnal year portion is damaged. It reads 'nāḷppat..... ṇṭaikkettir irāṇṭāmāṇṭu', the intervening letter or letters being irrecoverable. This makes it 'Forty... + second year.' However, the mention of Jupiter in Miṇam shows that it can either be 42<sup>nd</sup> year of A Series or 48<sup>th</sup> year of B Series. If we take it to belong to the B Series, it is to be dated in the 63<sup>rd</sup> year of the king (1026 AD). Since the last known regnal years are 58 of A Series (1020 AD) and 43 of B Series (1021 A.D.) and further extension is highly improbable, this record may safely be assigned to the 42<sup>nd</sup> year of A series and dated 1003 AD. See Perunna inscription of 14<sup>th</sup> year (A series) for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple inscription. Kuvalāyini Kōvinnan Kunṛappōḷan donated gold which Neṭiyatali Puṛaiyan invested in land in such a way as to be able to meet the expenses of a three day feast for Brahmins and Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The provisions for the feast are mentioned.

**Publication:** *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (L), pp. 46-8. Tamil transliteration. Eng. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This record enables the calculation that there were 25 Śrīvaiṣṇava Brahmins attached to this temple.

**No.** A. 36

**Place:** Tirunelli. Owners not to be traced.

**Material:** Copper. Two plates with writing on both sides. 10 + 9 + 8 + 10 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 46 (A Series). Jupiter in Cīṅgam. Month of Makaram. 1008 AD. See Perunna inscription, 14<sup>th</sup> year, (A Series) for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Caṅkaran Kōta Varman, alias Aṭikaḷ Puṇaḷcīṭṭar, Niḷal and Paṇi make a land-gift to temple for conducting feast in the temple, handing over the land to Ūrāḷar, Sanyāsikaḷ and Yōgikaḷ and making it a 'Kūḷṭu' of Puṇaḷcīṭṭar. Aiññūṇṇuvar. Mūḷikkalattu kaccam is quoted. The land was purchased from Karaññiñanūr Sabha in return for payment in gold Kācu.
- Publication:** I.A., XX, pp. 285-90. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, translation and notes. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācinalikḷitanaḷ*, pp. 175-80. Mal. Transliteration and notes. Elamkuḷam, *Prāśnaṅgaḷ*, 1963, Appendix II, pp. 308-9. Mal. Transliteration of the revised text; last seven lines omitted.
- Remarks:** This record proves the extension of Bhāskara Ravi's authority to Puṇaḷcīṭṭar (North Kottayam in modern times).
- No.** A. 37
- Place:** Tirumūḷikkālam. Base of the Vāṭilmāṭam
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines each of them running across the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 48 (48 + 0). A series. 1010 AD. This record does not contain any mention of the position of Jupiter. However, since records of the B Series are known only up to the 43<sup>rd</sup> year, 1021 AD this record may safely be placed in the A series and assigned to 1010 AD. See Perunna inscription, 14<sup>th</sup> year, (A series) for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūr of Tirumūḷikkālam and Potuvāḷ meet in the temple decide unanimously to lease out the Cērikkaḷ lands donated by Manukulādiccan. Mūḷikkāḷa kaccam is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 7 (K), pp. 45-6. Photo. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Read 'Mūḷikkāḷakkacca' in place of '...ḷa kacca' in L. 2. Read 'iraṇṭukuticcamaiñcitarum' in place of 'iraṇṭukutikkamaiñcitarum', 'iruṇṭāṭikkūḷalum' in place of 'iruṇṭkāṭi kaṇṭālaum' and 'paraṭaiyārum' in place of 'ūrvāriyārum' in L.3. (corrections by the present writer from original stone). The gift of Manukulādicca is mentioned, but this Manukulādicca was left unidentified until the present writer brought out the Pullūr Koḍavalam inscription of the 58<sup>th</sup> year (A series) which provides that Bhāskara Ravi had the title of Manukulādicca.
- No.** A. 38
- Place:** Trikkadithānam, West base of the central shrine of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 1 line running across the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma) Kō. Regnal year 48. A Series. Jupiter in Tūḷm. This has been wrongly attributed to the 2<sup>nd</sup> year and 1<sup>st</sup> year in T.A.S., V, no. 62, p. 190 and Elamkuḷam, *Prāśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 46 respectively. (The position of Jupiter would not suit the interpretation.) If 48 is taken to be the number of days in the first regnal year - it is unusual to speak of days beyond a month - and not as the num-

ber of years, the position of Jupiter (Itavam) given in the Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 6<sup>th</sup> year, would be out of place. Moreover, 'tulāttiḷ viyālam niṇṇa' will not go with the statement of the day. (On the hand the position of Jupiter in Tulām agrees with the 48<sup>th</sup> year of Bhāskara Ravi (A series) inscription.) See Perunna inscription 14 year (A series) for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple inscription. Muḷakkāṭṭu Iyakkan Kōvinman, making provision on Chitra Viṣu day for Nandāvilakku and Tīruvamirtu for 12 Brahmins on every Amāvāsi day in the temple. The nature of the transaction is not clear as a big plot of 400 kalam, yielding 4800 para of paddy considerably out of proportion with expenses involved, is mentioned in this connection. Perhaps this conveys the idea that he had already returned the big 400 kalam plot which he had taken up earlier on lease.

**Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 7, (j), p. 45. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. T.A.S., V, no. 62, p. 190. Tamil transliteration of revised and fuller text, Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkuḷam, Prāsnaṅgal*, II, p. 46. Mal. Transliteration of extracts and notes.

**Remarks:** The last sentence of the text may be reconstructed as 'iccelavu nanṇulaināṭṭu munnūṇṇuvarum celutta kkaṭavar' in the place of 'iccelavu...nūṇṇu...celutta...' and the record completed. (Correction by the present writer from original stone).

**No.** A. 39

**Place:** Pullūr. Courtyard of the Koḍavalam temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Vaiṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, Manukulāditya. Regnal year 58. A Series. Jupiter in Karkkatakā. 1020 AD. The regnal year was misunderstood as 55 by the Govt. Epigraphist. A.R.L.E, 1963-4, no. 125. See Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14<sup>th</sup> year, (A Series) for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Kuḍavalattu Ūrālar install the inscribed stone showing 3 kaḷaṇṇu as the amount of Āṭṭaikkōl (annual dues) fixed by royal order to be paid to the sovereign.

**Publication:** No. 125 of 1963-4. It has not been officially published. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭṭhāna-śilakāḷ*, pp. 69-78. Eye copy, Mal. transliteration, translation and notes. See also M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Identity and Date of king Manukulāditya', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1969.

**Remarks:** The date portion was read by the Govt. of India Epigraphist as indicating the 55<sup>th</sup> year probably by deciphering the text as 'aiympattayyāmāṇṭu' in LI. 5-6. The present writer corrected it from original stone as 'aiympattēṭṭāmāṇṭu' which gives the 58<sup>th</sup> year and also suits the position of Jupiter in 'Karkkatakā' of the Bhāskara Ravi (A series) inscription. This short inscription has revealed the identity of Bhāskara Ravi Manukulāditya. Scholars like R.G. Bhandarkar, S.V. Venkateswara Ayyar, Prof. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, Prof. Elamkuḷam and S. Sanku Ayyar had previously identified Manukulāditya with different other kings. The present identification helps the dating of Sanskrit philosopher poet Sarvajñaṭma and Sanskrit Yamaka poet Nārāyaṇa. This record also proves the extension of Bhāskara Ravi's authority to Kōlattunāṭu in the northern part of Kerala, the fact of which was doubted by scholars before. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, 'The Identity and Date of King Manukulāditya', *Op. Cit.*

- No. **A. 40**
- Place: Eramam - Site of the ruined Cālappuṟam temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on three sides. 15 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma). Regnal year 58. A series. Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka. 1020 AD. This king's name was confused by the Govt. Epigraphists who took the name of Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Ramakaṭa Mūvar in Ll. 5-7 as that of the sovereign. This error is copied by Prof. K.A.N. Sastri and Eḷamkuḷam also. The year, mentioned as 'the year opposite to the year 58' was taken to be the year 59 by the Govt. Epigraphist. However, this means only 58 stated in conventional style. See Perunna inscription 14<sup>th</sup> year, (A series) for discussion of date.
- Contents: While Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Rāmakata Mūvar was governing the nāṭu, the Taḷi of Cālappuṟam, Vaḷaṇciyar, Nānātēyar, Paṇimakkaḷ, together make an agreement probably in connection with some gift from Rājēndra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati of Kaṭappāpalli.
- Publication: No. 523 of 1930. It has not been officially published. It was mentioned as a record of the 59<sup>th</sup> year of Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Irāma Kuṭa Mūvar, king of Mūṣaka. M.G.S. Narayanan. *Aṭiṭhāṇaśilakāḷ*, pp. 79-92. Eye copy Mal. Transliteration and translation and notes.
- Remarks: This inscription confirms the extension of Bhāskara Ravi's authority to Kōlattuṇāṭu and establishes a Bhāskara Ravi-Kaṇṭan Kāri-Rājēndra Cōḷa synchronism. This triple synchronism is useful in confirming the finding about the period of Bhāskara Ravi, the Cēra-Cōḷa relations of this period, and also in getting a firm date for Mūsakavamsakāvya, the earliest known work of territorial history in Sanskrit literature. Kaṇṭan Kāri of this record may be identified with Śrikanṭhan Kartha of the Kāvya. References to Vaḷaṇciyar and Nānātēyar also provide a link between Kerala and the Cōḷa empire.
- No. **A. 41**
- Place: Trikkākara. Base of the front maṇḍapa.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines, each one spread out on several stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 58 (A Series). Jupiter in Ciṅgam. 1020 AD. See Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14<sup>th</sup> year (A Series), for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple Inscription. Uḷpātan, Perumutiyan and Potuvāḷ o Tirukkāḷkkarai Tēvar decide that Cālavēli Kēraḷan Pōḷan, tenant of the temple, may be entrusted with some more land for Nandāvilakku and that another person Iravi Kovinnan may be entrusted with certain other items of routine. Witnesses are mentioned.
- Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 7 (M), pp. 48-9. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation, and notes.
- Remarks: The 58<sup>th</sup> year is shown as Karkkaṭavyāḷam in Pulūr inscription and Ciṅgavyāḷam here. This is quite natural since the same regnal year might consist of the months of two calendar years. This is the latest known record of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series).

- No. A. 42
- Place: Trikkāḍithānam. North and West walls of the central shrine.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines, each on spreading over all the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 13 (6 + 7). (B. Series). 991 AD. Jupiter in ṭṭavam, Month of Tulām. See Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43<sup>rd</sup> year (B Series) for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr, Paraṭalyār, and Potuvāl meet in Tirukkaḍithānam temple and unanimously make arrangements for the cultivation of land set apart for Tiruvamirtu, Nandāvilakku, Tiruvakkiram, Māpāratam etc. The service tenure of the Śānti is fixed. The terms of the tenants of the lands are laid down. Restrictions are imposed on the Ūrālar and Paraṭai. Fine is prescribed.
- Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 7 (c), pp. 34-37. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks: This is one of the few records which mention the institution of Māpāratam, i.e. the appointment of a scholar to recite *Mahābhārata* in the temple. It also speaks about the three year term of Śānti, the dates of payment of the rent and steps to prevent the abuse of the power of the Paraṭai.
- No. A. 43
- Place: Neḍumpuram Tāji. Half wall in the entrance corridor through the Vāṭilmātam on the left side.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 18 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 18 (16 + 2). (B Series) 996 AD. Jupiter in Tulām. The regnal year was read as 13 (11 + 2) in the Government Epigraphist's version and consequently Prof. Elamkulam assumed that the position of Jupiter demanded the postulate of a Bhāskara Ravi different from the author of Series A and B. see Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43<sup>rd</sup> year, (B series) for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paṭiṇeṭṭu Nāṭṭār and Adhikārikaḷ of Nityavilyārēśvaram meet in the temple and unanimously decide to accept as Kṛṣṇa all the lands in the Cērikkal belonging to Tiripuvana Mātēvi alias Ciritara Naṅgacci and to afford it protection as part of the temple. Fine is prescribed for offences against the arrangements by Paṭiṇeṭṭu Nāṭṭār, Adhikārikaḷ and Akappotuvāls and their accomplices.
- Publication: No. 348 of 1924 T.A.S., VIII, no. 33 (IV), p. 40. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks: Read 'paṭiṇārāmāṇṭaikkētiṇārāṇṭāmāṇṭu' in place of 'paṭiṇārāmāṇṭaikkētiṇārāṇṭāmāṇṭu' in L.1. 1-2. Read 'irunnu' for 'iruntu' in L.4 and 'uṭeya' for 'uṭaiya' add 'pāṭṇanēl' for '.....nel' in L.9. Read 'vilakkuvitum poruḷ kavaruvitum ceyum' in place of 'nilakkovilum.....vota, caiyum' in L. 12-13. Add 'tam atikāran' for '.....atikāran' in L. 15. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This record brings out a rich dancing girl with a high-sounding double name - Ciritara Naṅgacci alias Tribhuvana Mātēvi - suggestive of a royal personage. It is significant that the chief queen of Uttama Cōja (Death C. 985 AD) predecessor of Rājārāja Cōja I, had the same title.



- No. **A. 44**
- Place: Trikkākara. Outside base of Cūṟṟumaṇḍapa.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 21. (2 + 19). (B Series). 999 AD. Jupiter in Kumbham. Month of Makaram. The regnal year was correctly deciphered by the Travancore Govt. Epigraphists at first but in the second and fuller edition, it was wrongly put as 31 (2 + 29). See Eḷamkuḷam, *Prasnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 147-8. See Tirumelli copper-plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43<sup>rd</sup> year, (B series) for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Mākkannappalḷi Kaṇṭa Nārāyaṇan receives gold from Cūṟṟumaṇḍappuḷai Kōtai Nārāṇan and undertakes to supply regularly the ghee necessary for the Nandāvilakku instituted by the latter. Witnesses are cited and Mūḷikkala kaccam is quoted. If the gold is ever returned, provision is made for investing it on land again.
- Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 7 (G), pp. 41-2. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes (Fragmentary). T.A.S., III, no. 43. pp. 182-4. Photo, Tamil Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks: This record brings out the practice of donating gold and investing it on land with the help of temple authorities for specific offerings in temple. Cūṟṟumaṇḍappuḷai Kōtai Nārāṇan, the donor, appears in another Trikkākara record of Bhāskara Ravi, 31<sup>st</sup> year, (B Series 1010 AD) also. Neytamaṅgalattu Kēyavan Tēvan, the Śānti who appears as witness here, must be the same person who appears in another Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58<sup>th</sup> year, (A series- 1020 A.D.) also.
- No. **A. 45**
- Place: Trikkākara. Base of the front maṇḍapa.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines. Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 31 (2 + 29), (B Series), 1009 AD. Jupiter in Dhaṇu, 20<sup>th</sup> of Vṛścika, (expired). See Tirumelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43<sup>rd</sup> year, (B Series) for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple committee Resolution. While Paṇṇitturutti Pōḷan Kumaran was governing Neṭumpuraṇṇāṭu and Kāḷkkaraṇṇāṭu, Puṭillattu Nārāyaṇan Tēvan agreed to pay the ghee for lamps due from two other persons, putting forward his share property as guarantee. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned.
- Publication: T.A.S., II, 7, (H). pp. 42-44. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks: Read 'inney' in place of 'innel' in L.3. Read 'vāṇa nāl' in place of 'vāṇanare' and 'Uḷpāṇan' in place of 'urepāṇan' in L.4. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone.) Paṇṇitturutti Pōḷan Kumaran, Governor of Neṭumpuraṇṇāṭu and Kāḷkkaraṇṇāṭu mentioned here, must be the son of Paṇṇitturutti Kaṇṇan Pōḷan mentioned in a record of Indu Kōta, 16<sup>th</sup> year, from the same place. Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Caṅgaran Tāmōṭṭiran, a witness in this record, must be the son of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Kēcavan Caṅgaran, who appears in the same capacity in records of the same place belonging to Indu Kōta, 17<sup>th</sup> year, and Bhāskara Ravi, 6<sup>th</sup> year, (A Series) - a fact which confirms the Indu Kōta-Bhāskara Ravi sequence. Cūṟṟumaṇḍappuḷai Kōtai Nārāṇan who figures as a witness in this record appeared

as donor in a Trikkākara inscription of the 21<sup>st</sup> year (B series) also. Cīrumaṭṭappulai Kōtai Kēralan, another witness of this record, has appeared before in a Bhāskara Ravi inscription of the 6<sup>th</sup> year, (A Series – A.D. 968) also. Since there is a gap of 42 years between the two records it is likely that the second record refers not to the same person but a younger brother or a grand-son with the same name.

- No.** A. 46
- Place:** Tirunelli. Owners not to be traced.
- Material:** Copper. Single plate with writing on both sides. 29 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 43 (2 + 35 + 6), (B. Series), March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1021 AD. Jupiter in Tulām, Month of Mīṇa, Wednesday, Uṭṭam nakṣatra. It has already been pointed out that correspondence of witnesses of A and B series of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions from Trikkākara prove that all these records belong to the same period and the script and language agree with this inference. The astronomical data like position of Jupiter, month, date, weekday and nakṣatra given here enabled Swāmikkannu Pillai to calculate the date. It will be seen that 1<sup>st</sup> of March, 1021 is the only date that suits all these details in the period of 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries. See T.A.S., II, pp. 49-50; and Eḷamkuḷam, *Prāśnaṅgal*, II, p. 47 also. Thus the year 978 AD must be taken as the initial year. The present writer infers that Bhāskara Ravi came to occupy the throne as a child in 962 AD and that the year 978 AD witnessed his formal coronation, so that his regnal year were counted in both ways by the people.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Kuñcikkuttavarman alias Vīrakkurumpuṇaiyār, Mūttakūṟṟil Eḷunūṟṟuvar (Nīḷal). Paṇiyuṭaiya Nāyan (Paṇi). Ūr (Nāṭṭār) and Ūṟiṭavakai Veḷḷājar (Prakṛiti) meeting unanimously in the temple, set aside a cērikkal for Tiruvamirtu and Nandāviḷakku. The mode of distribution of the rice after worship is detailed. Fine for offences prescribed. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned. Gifts of ornaments to the temple by the governor also enumerated.
- Publication:** *E.I.*, XVI, no. 27, pp. 339-45. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācinalikhiṭaṅgal*, pp. 170-75. Mal. Transliteration and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Prāśnaṅgal*, 1963, App. 1, pp. 307-8 Mal. Transliteration of revised text.
- Remarks:** The fullness of astronomical details presented here enabled the calculation of date. This record gives the latest date in Bhāskara Ravi's reign. The text gives the meaning of Eḷunūṟṟuvar as Nīḷal and shows that they are attached to the senior prince thereby proving the mistake in interpreting terms like Eḷunūṟṟuvar, Aṟunūṟṟuvar etc as connoting democratic assemblies.
- No.** A. 47
- Place:** Trikkāḍithānam, South base of the central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 26 (2 + 24), (C Series) 988 AD? 1004 AD? This inscription is placed in C Series in the absence of any mention of the position of Jupiter. However, Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, appointed simultaneously as Governor of Nanṇuḷaināṭu, in the 14<sup>th</sup> year, (A Series) is men-

tioned here also. Therefore, there is a greater likelihood of this record belonging to the A Series though it is not certain. See Perunna record of Bhāskara Ravi, 14<sup>th</sup> year, (A Series) and Tirunelli record, 43<sup>rd</sup> year, (B series) for date.

- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. While Gōvarittana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, was ruling over Nanṟulaināṭu, the Paraṭai of Tirukkaṭittānam, Kaṇattār, Potu-vālmār, Munnūṟruvar of Nanṟulaināṭu, Paṇi Ceykiṇṟa Neṭumpuṟāṭṭu Kuṇṟan Kōvintan and Ūrmanṟattu Iravi Irāman made arrangements to protect the property of Tirukkōyilutayār Koṭṭikaḷ (Temple drummers) from encroachment or mortgage. Fine is prescribed. The writing was caused by the Uvaccakaḷ (drummers).
- Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 7 (E), p. 40. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes (Fragment only); T.A.S., V, no. 57, pp. 178-80. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This is a unique record in the form of a protective order, probably issued on the basis of some complaints made by the drummers to the temple committee.
- No:** A. 48
- Place:** Trikkāṭṭhānam. Courtyard of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Slab of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines. Script-Vaiṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi. Regnal year 26 (2 + 24) (C series) 988 AD? 1004 AD? The text contains only the regnal year but not the name of the king. However, the content is related to the previous record (A. 47.) The same group of Tirukkōyilutayār appears in both. While the former preserves a judgment in favour of these people, the present record registers a contract with them for the supply of ghee. Therefore, we may confidently attribute this to Bhāskara Ravi though the series cannot be determined in the absence of Jupiter position. See 14<sup>th</sup> year, A Series and 43<sup>rd</sup> year, B Series for date.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. It is ordered that the two branches of drummers of Nārāyaṇa-maṅgalam are to supply oil at specified time. Fine is prescribed.
- Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 7, (F) pp. 40-1. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Read 'iraṇṭu tuṭaiṇu eṇṇai' in place of 'iraṇṭu paṭai a eṇṇai' in Ll. 2-3. Read 'aṭṭiya' in place of 'muṭṭiya' in L.6. (Correction by the present writer from original stone.)
- No.** A. 49
- Place:** Perunna. South base of the central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 5 lines each running across the stone. Script- Vaiṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 33 (2 + 31). C Series, 995 AD? 1011 AD? This record mentions a year when Jupiter stood in Itavam and it appears to be a reference to an earlier transaction being ratified and committed to writing on stone in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year. However the Government Epigraphists and Eḷamkuḷam took this to be a reference to the position of Jupiter in the year of the inscription. The latter, therefore, attributed the record to a new Bhāskara Ravi whom he described as Bhāskara Ravi III. In fact, the statement will not bear such interpretation. The position of Jupiter in the year of the record is not stated. See Perunna

record of Bhaskara Ravi, 14<sup>th</sup> year, and Tirunelli record, 43<sup>rd</sup> year, for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Royal Order. Perunneytal Ūr, Paraṭaiyār, and Potuvāḷ agreed in the year when Jupiter stood in Itavam to pay a fixed amount as annual dues to Nanruḷaināṭu. It is now stated that they will pay the same amount to the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ of the ministry and nothing more. Two persons bringing the royal order sanctioning this procedure caused it to be inscribed on stone.

**Publication:** J.A.S., II, 7 (I), pp. 44-5. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Prasānaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 149-50. Discussion of date.

**Remarks:** This record throws light on the nature of the relation between king and temple corporation.

**No.** A. 50

**Place:** Tiruvangūr. Balikkal in front of the shrine.

**Material:** Stone. Two stones with writing on one side. 2 lines each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 35. (C Series) 997 AD? or 1013 AD? The regnal year portion is deciphered as 'muppattain...' in the government Epigraphist's version but it is clearly 'muppattaiñcu' or thirty five. The position of Jupiter is not mentioned.

**Contents:** Temple inscription. Maḷajur Nārāyaṇan Kēcavan built a balikkal and instituted regular expenses of Nāḷi rice.

**Publication:** No. 16 of 1901. S.I.I., VII, no. 176, p. 75. Tamil transliteration.

**Remarks:** This short two sentence record is the first so far discovered which leaves out the personal termination in Mal. Language. Read 'muppattaiñcu' in place of 'muppattain...' in L.I. (correction by the present writer from original stone.)

**No.** A. 51

**Place:** Pantalāyaṇi Koḷlam. Block of granite built into the steps of the tank at Jamātu paḷḷi, and another lying outside.

**Material:** Stone. Two slabs with writing on surface in both and one side of the loose stone. 41 lines (19 + 17 + 5). Highly damaged and incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi. Regnal year? (2 + ?) C Series. This record is to be placed in Series C as the regnal year and the position of Jupiter remain unknown. The name of the King was not deciphered in the Government Epigraphists' version.

**Contents:** Royal charter. Purpose uncertain. Only a few words like Pantalāyaṇi, Kōyil, Vaḷeñci (yar), Maṇikkirāmam, Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ, Aṭṭikkuṭuttarūḷiyitu, Nakarattilūḷḷōr etc can be deciphered.

**Publication:** No.3 and 4 of 1091; S.I.I., VII, no. 162, p. 69. Tamil transliteration. **Remarks:** Read '...kkaraniravikkuccellāniṅṇa' in place of '...ravikkuccellāniṅṇa' in Ll. 1-2. Read 'Pantalāyaṇi' in place of 'Panta....' in Ll. 110-11. Read 'nakarattilūḷḷōr' in Ll. 34-5. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This record proves that the place name Pantalāyaṇi was in existence even in the 10th century. It is one of the few records to mention 'Vaḷaṇciyar' in Kerala. It was probably a royal charter given by the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ to the founders of the Vaḷaṇciyar community in

Pantalāyaṇi Kollam. Its position inside a Muslim mosque, considered to be one of the original mosques in Kerala, suggests that the nakaram belonged to the Muslims or included them or came into their possession at a later stage.

- No. A. 52
- Place: Tirumaṇṇakōḍe, near Pattambi. Door frame of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on one side. 29 lines. Partly damaged in the bottom portion. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Ravi Kōta, Kō, Year 8, 1028 AD? Cōḷan Parakēsari Varman (Rājendra Cōḷa) is mentioned in the text. Therefore, it belonged to the early part of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This Ravi Kōta, who is mentioned in a Panniyankara inscription also, was probably the immediate successor of Bhāskara Ravi. Perhaps he possessed the coronation name of Rājasimha.
- Contents: Records the gift of gold equivalent to 40 Paḷamkāṣu to the temple by Cōḷa Muttaraiyan named Cēkkilān alias Śaktinṇayan of Kāvanūr, from Melur Kōṭṭam in Toṇḍaināṭu, who was carrying out the orders of Cōḷan Parakēsari Varman. Mentions the name of the temple as Tiruviṇṇuvakkōṭu. Refers to Mūḷikkaja Kacam also.
- Publication: Nil. A wooden frame had concealed the major part of the writing when the present writer visited the temple in November, 1961. The temple authorities kindly removed it in 1971 to enable a view of the text of the inscription. The first one line, covered by a granite beam, was recently exposed by scrapping the stone and this revealed the name of the sovereign.
- Remarks: The record is important in several ways. It confirms the connection between Kerala and Rājendra Cōḷa mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions. By bringing out the old name of the temple as Tiruviṇṇuvakkōḍe it strengthens the view that this is the temple praised by Kulaśēkhara Ālvār of Kerala. The name of the king in the opening passage settles the question of the name of the Cēra king who succeeded Bhāskara Ravi in Kerala. See Index no. C. 15 also.
- No. A. 53
- Place: Panniyankara. Courtyard of the temple. This was lying buried under the ruins of the Vātilmāṭam and was brought to light recently.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 18 lines. Incomplete. Partly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Ravi Kōta. Regnal year Nil. (damaged) C. 1028 AD. The script and language suggest the early part of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This king is evidently the same as Ravi Kōta of Tirumaṇṇakōḍe inscription. For details and discussion of date, see no. A.52 above.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Atikārar of Panṇiyankarai and Āḷa Kōyil unanimously deciding on the lease of certain lands. Perumāṇaṭikal and a capatai (agree-ment), probably of Mūḷikkalam are mentioned.
- Publication: This record was discovered, deciphered and published by the present writer. On the basis of his report the Archaeological department of Kerala has copied it recently. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakal*, pp. 122-136.
- Remarks: This record introduced a Cēra king who was not known from other sources and his date has been subsequently fixed in the light of a Tirumaṇṇakōḍe inscription.

(No. A. 52) This Ravi Kōta must have had the title of Rājasimha. For information about Rājasimha inscription, see No. A. 54 to 58 also.

- No.** A. 54
- Place:** Tālakkaḍ. Compound of the Christian church.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on both sides. 39 lines (25+14). Script-Vatteḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Rājasimha Perumān Aṭikaḷ. Regnal year 3. 1024 AD? (The Madras Government Epigraphist took the two parts of the record as two separate inscriptions but actually there is no difference in content, script, or language. The present writer examined the original stone). See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōla, 24<sup>th</sup> year, Index no. A. 56, for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Village Assembly resolution. Mūttār, ḷaiyār, and Paraṭai of Tālaikkāṭṭūr, the two Kuḍippotuvāls, Urvāriyar and Potuvāl of Irunkāṭikkūṭal meet in the presence of the king and decide to exempt two families of Maṇikkirāmattār from certain taxes and to extend the privileges of such exemption to new-comers within the Kaccam also. Mentions Perumāṇaṭikaḷ. The boundaries of the land granted unanimously by the Ūrār for shops to be erected by the Vaṇṇkar (Merchants) who were settled in Tālakkaṭu are mentioned. The rights and privileges of the four merchants in regard to taxes and dues are also specified here.
- Publication:** No. 358 and 359 of 127. Partly published. T.A.S., VIII, no. 33, III, pp. 39-40. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks:** The growth of a small bazaar founded by the village assembly is portrayed here. Maṇikkirāmattār and their trade and some taxes like Pandaikkānam, Taṭṭarakkūli, Ōṇanel and Paṭaiyaṇinel are mentioned. The last two incidentally bring out the popularity of Ōṇam festival and the entertainment called Paṭaiyaṇi. Read 'Paṭaiyaṇi' in place of 'Pannitai' in L.22 (Second side) found in the summary given by the Govt. Epigraphist. (correction by the present writer from the original stone.) The location of the stone in the Christian church probably suggests that it was an early Christian settlement and that the Maṇikkirāmam was a Christian Corporation.
- No.** A. 55
- Place:** Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite. Script-Tamil Language - Tamil.
- Date:** King Jaṭavarman Sundra Cōla Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōla Viceroy at Madurai). Regnal year 14. 1034 AD. Cēramāṇār Rājasimha mentioned. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōla, 24<sup>th</sup> year (No.56), for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Cēraḷan Mātēviyar Aṭicci, queen of Cēramāṇār Rāciṅga tēvar, donate a lamp and 16 coins to Rājendra Cōla Vinṇagar Aḷvār at Muṭikonṭa... in Rājarājappāṇḍināḍu.
- Publication:** No. 392 of 1916. Unpublished.
- Remarks:** This record mentions the Cēra queen Aṭicci, probably a Cōla princess.

- No.** A. 56
- Place:** Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Tamil. Language-Tamil.
- Date:** King Parakēśari Varman alias Ūtaiyār Rājendra Cōḷadēva (Cōḷa Rājendra I) and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōḷa viceroy at Madurai). Regnal year 24 of the Cōḷa king and Regnal year 15 of the Cōḷa Viceroy. For discussion of the Cōḷa dates, see K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 203. Since the reign of Bhāskara Ravi must have ended in or about the 59<sup>th</sup> year, (1021 AD) which yields the latest of his records, Cēramāṇār Rājasimha mentioned in this record may be assumed to have come to the throne in that year or about that time.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Land gift by Rājendra Cōḷa to temple built by Cēramāṇār Rājasimha. Mentions that the Cēra king built the temple called Rājendra Cōḷa Viṇṇagar, evidently in honour of Rājendra Cōḷa.
- Publication:** No. 112 of 1905. Unpublished.
- Remarks:** This record proves that Cēramāṇār Rājasimha who built a temple in Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya territory in honour of the ruling Cōḷa monarch was feudatory of that sovereign.
- No.** A. 57
- Place:** Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Tamil. Built in at the end. Language-Tamil.
- Date:** King Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai), Regnal year lost. C. 1036 AD. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōḷa, 24<sup>th</sup> year, Index no. A. 56 for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Land gift to the temple. Mentions Cēramāṇār Rājasimha.
- Publication:** No. 114 of 1905. Unpublished.
- Remarks:** This inscription confirms the feudatory status of the Cēra in relation to the Cōḷa sovereign.
- No.** A. 58
- Place:** Tiruvañcikkulam. Base of the sub-shrine outside the first Prākāra at the Western entrance of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Block of granite with writing on one side. Slightly damaged. 5 lines, each of them running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Rājasimha. Regnal year Nil. C. 1036 AD. The king's name and regnal year are not directly mentioned in this record but the Peruntaccan (chief architect) is mentioned as 'Irāyīṅapperuntaccan', i.e., the chief architect of Rājasimha. It was the custom for the royal architects, goldsmiths, carpenters, merchants, etc. to be known by the king's name. See Mannarkōyil inscription on of Rājendra Cōḷa, 24<sup>th</sup> year, Index No. A. 56, for discussion of date.

- Contents:** Royal Order. Amaiccuḷḷurutti Kōyil Adhikārika orders that he is pleased to grant a puraiyitam to the chief architect of Rājasimha. The Revenue payment is fixed and fine is prescribed for violation of rules.
- Publication:** No. 225 of 1895. *S.J.L.*, V, No. 789, p. 340. Tamil transliteration. *T.A.S.*, VI, II, no. 138, p. 191. Tamil transliteration. The Cochin Government Epigraphists had discovered only 3 lines but the Madras Government Epigraphists added two more. However they found only meaningless fragments of words here. The present writer has made corrections and filled up the gaps from the original stone.
- Remarks:** Read 'amaiccuḷḷuruttiyōyilatikārikaḷku. Itaiyitu oḷḷoruttan ākil itaiyitum vitakkaṭavanāvatu. Ippurayitam akanāliyaiyoṭu okku' in l.l. 3-5 after 'pon'. This record brings out the manner of remuneration for the architects for the repair and reconstruction of temple.
- No.** A. 59
- Place:** Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Tamil. Language - Tamil.
- Date:** King Jatavarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍyadēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai), Regnal year 16, 1037 AD. See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 203 for discussion of the Cōḷa date. As Cēramānār Rājasimha is mentioned in 1036 AD and Cēramānār Rājarāja in this record of 1037 AD it may be assumed that the reign of the former ended and that of the latter started in that year.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Gift of land to the temple. Mentions the donor Cēramānār Rājarājadēva. He finds the kāṇi-kaḍan due from a Brahmin settlement to the temple called Rājēndra Cōḷa Vinṇagar too high, gives them more land and reduces the amount of revenue.
- Publication:** No. III of 1095. *E.I.*, XI, p. 292 ff. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 581. English summary and notes.
- Remarks:** This record gives the clue of the date of Cēra king Rājarāja by referring to a definite point in his reign in terms of the regnal year of Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya. It also confirms the status of the Cēra king as the feudatory of the Cōḷa.
- No.** A. 60
- Place:** Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine in Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Incomplete. Script- Tamil. Language - Tamil.
- Date:** King Māṇavarman alias (name lost) Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai, probably successor of Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva) and Cēramānār Rājarājadēva. Regnal year (lost) c.1040 AD? This Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy must have started in c. 1040 AD. See Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 203.
- Contents:** Not clear. Built in at the end. Mentions Cēramānār Rājarājadēva.
- Publication:** No. 113 of 1095, *E.I.*, XI, p. 292 ff.
- Remarks:** This record also gives a hint about the period of Cēra king Rājarāja by referring to a year in terms of the regnal year of Māṇavarman Cōḷa Pāṇḍya who seems to



have succeeded the first Cōja Pāṇḍya Viceroy Jaṭavarman Sundara Cōja Pāṇḍya sometime after 1037 AD and about 1040 AD.

No. A. 61

Place: Trichambaram. Base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Two blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rājārāja, Kō. Regnal year 4 + ? 1040 AD.? See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōja, Index no. A. 57, 24<sup>th</sup> year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple inscription. The portions after the name and regnal year of the king are almost illegible. Seems to refer to the construction of the shrine.

Publication: Nil. This was discovered by the present writer in 1970.

Remarks: This record shows that Kōlattunāṭu where the temple is located was part of the territory of the Cēra sovereign.

No. A. 62

Place: Tiruvaṇṇūr, Kōzhikōḍe. Courtyard of the temple. This was transferred to the Collector's bungalow and recently, following a request from the present writer, shifted to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rājārāja, Kō. Regnal year 8 (4 + 4). C. 1044 AD? The name of this king is deciphered as 'Vāla irāmar' (Vāla Rāma) by the Govt. Epigraphists and interpreted as Bāla Rāma by Prof. Eṭamkulam. The present writer decipheres it as 'Irai irāyar' and considers it as the Malayalamised form of Rājārāja. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōja, 24<sup>th</sup> year, Index no. A.57 for discussion of date.

Contents: Royal Order. Pāliyattu Kannaṇ Kanṭan, Governor of Rāmavaḷanāṭu, Paṇi Uṭaiyavakal, Arunūṭruvar and Nijalōr make an agreement cancelling a new gold levy introduced by Kanaiyapallī Yakkan Cellan, prohibiting all future levies by the governor and his men, and placing the Dēvaswam and Brahmaswam as Kīḷṭu of Arunūṭruvar. The Arunūṭruvar is enjoined to light a lamp, supervise the worship and protect the property of the deity like those of Tirukkunavāy. The Ulpātan has to manage the property and the Arunūṭruvar has to set right anything reported by the Potuvāḷ. The defaulters were to be considered as offenders against Tirukkunavāy. Fine is prescribed for offence.

Publication: No. 220 of 1895. S.I.I., V, No. 784, p. 388. Photo and Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read "Irai irāyar" in place of 'Vāla irāmar' in L.1. Read 'cenṇatu' in place of 'cenu' in L. Read 'celavinuḷ pukku vilakkuvitu poruḷ' in place of 'celavinu akkōyil kanṇipporuḷ' in L. 13-14. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This inscription, besides introducing the name of Rājārāja, introduces the name of a province called Rāmavaḷanāṭu and the rules of Tirukkunavāy, probably the famous Jain centre near Kōḍungallūr, the Cēra capital where ḷṅkō Aṭikaḷ, the author of Cīlappatikāram, resided.

No. A. 63

Place: Indianūr, near Kōṭṭakkal. Buried in front of balikkal in temple. Recently transferred to the Department of History, Calicut University.

- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on both sides, the other side bearing an inscription of Kōta Ravi, 27<sup>th</sup> year, also. 10 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Rājārāja, Kō. Regnal year 8 (4 + 4). C. 1044 AD? The name of this king is deciphered as 'Vāḷa irāmar' by the Government Epigraphists. The present writer deciphered it as 'Irai Irāyar' and considers it as the Malayalamised form of Rājārāja. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōḷa, 24<sup>th</sup> year, Index No. A. 57 for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūrār of Inttānūrpotuvāl, Kuṇṇil Kōyil, and Arunūṇṇuvar meet and take a decision in relation about the tenancy of a piece of land, the management of which is entrusted to the Potuvāl.
- Publication:** No. 286 of 1937. Unpublished. The present writer copied it from original stone.
- Remarks:** This is a rare case where inscription of two separate kings are found on either side of a slab of stone. The Arunūṇṇuvar, evidently of Ēṇṇānāṭu, are mentioned for the first time.
- No.** A. 64
- Place:** Trikkadithānam. Wall of the central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines, each of them running across the stones Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Ravi Rāma, Kō. Regnal year 2 (2 + 0). C. 1050 AD. Jupiter in Mīṇam, month of Karkkṇāka. This king must be assigned to the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the light of the script and language of this inscription. Ravi Rāma could be the personal name of Rājāditya who is mentioned as Rāma alias Rājāditya in the preamble of Ravideva's Yamaka kāvya named Naḷōdaya. The position of Jupiter in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year makes it certain that Ravi Rāma cannot be identified with Rāma Kulāśekhara.
- Contents:** Village Assembly resolution. Ūrār, Paraṭalyār, Capalyār, and Maṇalmanṇattu Iyakkan Ciriṇṇāṇ, Governor of Nanṇulaināṭu, meet in the temple and unanimously agree to confiscate the house and property, and cancel all the rights and privileges, of Teñcēri Cēnnaṇ Tāyan who committed theft from the temple treasury. With this property Maṇalmanṇattu Iyakkan Śriṇṇāṇ instituted 'Pañcama Śabdham' in the temple. The procedure, fine for default, and the course of appeal are elaborated.
- Publication:** T.A.S., V, No. 55, pp. 172-76. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This record provides the only case of punishment for theft in the whole corpus of Cēra inscriptions. The reference to the Governor of Nanṇulaināṭu as Nāṭuvāḷum Nāyar is significant as it indicates the emergence of Nāyar feudal militia as the ruling force.
- No.** A. 65
- Place:** Paramban Taḷi. Base of the central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 3 lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

- Date:** King Ādityan Kōta (Varma), Kō alias Raṇāditya Caṅṇavartika]. Regnal year 5. Jupiter in Makaram. Month of Itavam. C. 1089 AD. The King's name was deciphered as 'Āticca Iruḷi Irāmar' (Āditya Rsi Rāma) by the Government Epigraphists and this version was accepted by Prof. Elamkulam also. The present writer deciphers it as 'Āticcan Kōtai Varmar'. The script and language, as well as the title of Caṅṇavartika] as found in the case of Rāma Kulaśēkhara, suggest a late 11<sup>th</sup> century date.
- Contents:** Temple inscription: The temple was inaugurated in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Āticcan Kōta-varma alias Raṇāditya.
- Publication:** K.S.P., Series II, pp. 341-5. Mal. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. T.A.S. VIII. No.33, p. 39. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks:** Read 'Kōvāticcan kōtai varmar' in place of 'Kōvāticcan iruḷi irāmar' L.I. This inscription gives the name of a Cēra king who is known also from another inscription of the 7<sup>th</sup> year from Nallūr in Feroke discovered by the present writer.
- No.** A. 66
- Place:** Nallūr, Feroke. Courtyard of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on both sides. 34 lines (9 + 9 + 9 + 7). Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Ādityan Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 7. Jupiter in Miṇam. C. 1089 AD. See Paṇamban Taḷi record of Ādityan Kōta, 5<sup>th</sup> year, Index no. A 65, for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Amaḷcuḷḷurutti Kōyil Adhikārika], Paraṭaiyār, Potuvāḷ etc make some regulations for Pāratam, Cānivirutti, Tiruvamirtu, Nandaviḷakku etc in the temple and the Āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) there.
- Publication:** Unpublished. This record was discovered by the present writer in January 1970.
- Remarks:** Though fragmentary, this record brings out the name of the Cēra king Ādityan Kōta, and the regnal year 7 of his reign. The position of Jupiter in Miṇam in the 7<sup>th</sup> year agrees with that in Makaram in the 5<sup>th</sup> year from the Paṇamban Taḷi record, cited above.
- No.** A. 67
- Place:** Tiruvālūr. Built into the entrance of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 13 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Kulaśēkhara Perumā]. Regnal year 3 (2 + 1), Jupiter in Makaram. This king Kulaśēkhara must be the same as Rāma Kulaśēkhara of the Perunna record, 10<sup>th</sup> year, (Jupiter in Karkkātaka) and Kollam record, 13<sup>th</sup> year, (Jupiter in Kaṇṇi, 278 ME or 1102 AD) and the position of Jupiter, Script, and language support this inference. The date of coronation of Rāma Kulaśēkhara being AD 1089, the present record may be assigned to 1092 AD. Prof. Elamkulam has wrongly identified this Kulaśēkhara with Bhāskara Ravi who is not known to have possessed such a title. See *Prasāṅgaḷ*, II, p. 55.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāḷ meet in the presence of Kaṭaiṅṇōṭṭu Nārāyaṇan Iravi Kōyil at the Āralūr temple and unanimously appoint the priests and fix the remuneration and terms of service.

**Publication:** T.A.S., IV, No. 39, pp. 145-6. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** Read 'iṭaiyṭu viṭakkaṭaviyan' in place of 'i-viṭakkaṭaviyan' in Ll. 12-13. Read 'irupattunāikkajaiñṇu' in place of 'irunnaikkajaiñṇu' in Ll. 13-14.

**No.** A. 68

**Place:** Perunna. West side of the central shrine in temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on three sides. 72 lines (29 + 29 + 14). Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Kulasekhara. Regnal year 10 (2 + 8). Jupiter in Karkkataka, Month of Vriccika. 1099 AD. (Coronation 1089 AD) See Kollam inscription of 13<sup>th</sup> year. 276 ME, (1102 AD) for date.

**Contents:** Royal Order. The king sitting in council with Nālu Taji and Tirukkunrappoḷai at Neṭṭiya Taji ordered the cancellation of Āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) and Arantai (war tax) from Perunneyatal, and the institution of Namaskāram and Māpāratam with that amount and handed it over to the Ūr of Peruneyatal and Potuvāḷ. Royal orders to this effect were sent to the Kuṭippaḷis through messengers and these having assembled at the temple, caused a stone inscription marking the cancellation of Arantai to be erected there.

**Publication:** E.I., XVIII, p. 340 ff. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, translation and notes. T.A.S., V, No. 12, pp. 37-40. Photo, Tamil transliteration Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Parināmaṅgaḷ*, p. 94. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes (Extracts).

**Remarks:** This record illustrates the full procedure by which a royal order is formulated, communicated and executed. It mentions the Perumāḷ's council of Nālu Taji and the new tax called Arantai.

**No.** A. 69

**Place:** Neḍumpuraṁ Taji. Right side half-wall of the entrance corridor through the Vāṭilmāṭam of the temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** King Rāma, Mā Kō. Regnal year 10 (2 + 8). Jupiter in Karkkataka, Month of Miṇam. The period of Manaṅgāḷṭu Kumaran Iravi as governor of the province and Pullūr Kumaran Kumarāṭiccan as Commander of the forces. This king Rāma, who is described as Mā Kō or great king (emperor or Cakravartikaḷ) may be identified with Rāma Kulasekhara Cakravartikaḷ. The position of Jupiter, script, language and style support this inference. See Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulasekhara, 13<sup>th</sup> year, Index No. A. 71 for date.

**Contents:** Temple inscription. Pullūr Kumaran Kumarāṭiccan, the Paṭal Nāyan (Commander of the forces) supervises the temple, making some arrangements in the temple.

**Publication:** No. 345 of 1924. T.A.S., VIII, No. 33, VII, p. 42. Tamil transliteration. Eḷamkuḷam *Paścātātattil*, pp. 83-4. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes.

**Remarks:** Read 'Paṭanāyaruḷpaṭavaccu' in place of 'Pa-ṭa-ulpa-1' in Ll. 4.5. This record indicates the growing power of the military commanders - Nayars - in the provinces and even in temple.

- No: A. 70
- Place: Neḍumpuraṁ Taḷi. Right side of half-wall of the entrance corridor through the Vāṭimāṭam of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Rāma. Regnal year 11. Jupiter in Cīṅgam. The king's name and regnal year are not mentioned in the record, but they are implied by the reference to persons and decisions of the record of the tenth year, Index no. A. 69 which is followed by the present record after one year, i.e., 1090 AD.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. In the year when Jupiter stood in Cīṅgam when Talaippulattu Kaṇṭan Kumaran was governor of the province, Kāñṇirappaḷḷi Iravi Kaṇṇapīrān, Commander of the Neṭumpuṇaiyūrnāṭu forces, sitting in council in the temple decided to cancel the decision taken by Puḷḷuṇ Kumaran Kumārāṭṭican, Paṇāyār of the Neṭumpuṇaiyūrnāṭu, Taḷi and Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ of the Nityaviyārē-śwaram temple in the year when Jupiter stood in Karkkaṭaka and Manaiṅgāṭṭu Kumaram Iravi governed the province. The new officer gave orders to this effect to Taḷi and Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ of Nityaviyārēśwaram temple. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules.
- Publication: No. 346 of 1924. T.A.S., VIII, No. 33 V, p. 41. Tamil Transliteration. *Elamkuḷam Paścāttalattil*, pp. 82-3. Mal. Transliteration of the revised text, translation and notes.
- Remarks: This record also indicates, like the one of the previous year in the same place, the growing power and status of the military commanders - Nāyars - in the province and in temple.
- No: A. 71
- Place: Kollam (Quilon). Pillar set up in the courtyard of Rāmēśwaram temple.
- Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 151 lines (28+39+42+42). Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Rāma Kulafēkhara, Cakṛavartikaḷ. Regnal year 13 (2 + 11), 278 of Kollam era (1102 AD), Jupiter in Kaṇṇi, Month of Cīṅgam, 9<sup>th</sup> day (expired).
- Contents: Royal order. The king, residing at the Paṇaiṅkāvu palace in Kurakkēyi Kollam, sitting in council with Āriya Brahmins, Nālu Taḷi, Āyiram, Aṇunūṇṇuvar, Mānaviḱrama alias Pūnturaikkōn, who governed Ērānāṭu, and other Sāmantar (feudatories), made amends for some offence against the Āriyar (Brahmins) by donating paddy for daily feeding of Brahmins and leasing out a Cērikkal (crown colony) for that purpose to Kumaran Utaiyavarman of Vēnāṭu. The king also makes provision for Kūttu and offering at Tirukkuṇavāy Tiruṇāṭai. Witnesses are mentioned.
- Publication: T.A.S., V, No. 13, pp. 40-46. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkuḷam Parināmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 94-5. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes (extracts only).
- Remarks: Read 'putten paṇaiyāl' in place of 'putten aṇaiyāl' in Ll. 24-25. Read 'Ērānāṭu vāḷḱkal mānaviḱkiramāṇāṅa pūnturaikkōn' in place of 'annāṭu vāḷḱkalyān viḱkiramāṇāṅa...kkan' in Ll. 47-52. Read 'patinēṅkalattāl' in place of 'patinaiṅkalattāl' in Ll. 88-9. Read 'muṇaiḱḱu' in place of 'annaiḱḱu' in Ll. 103-4

(Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This record is of unique importance as it mentions the date in Kollam era, the regnal year, the Paṇāṅkāvil palace at Kollam, the members of the council like Nālu Tāḷi and Āyiram and the names of two feudatories, Māṇavikrama, governor of Ērāṇātu, the first among feudatories, and Kumaran Utaiya Varman, Governor of Vēṇātu, who is nominated as tenant of the Cērikkal. It also refers to Prāyaścittam by the Perumāḷ for having offended Brahmīns, to Kūttu and to Tīrukkūṇavāy, probably the famous Jain temple of that name.

- No.** A. 72
- Place:** Pantalāyaṇi Kollam. Courtyard of the Pantalāyaṇi Kollam Bhagavati temple. This seems to have disappeared from the scene.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language – Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Kulaśēkhara. Regnal year Nil. C. 1089. This Kulaśēkhara may be identified with Rāma Kulaśēkhara (coronation 1089 AD). The script and language support this inference.
- Contents:** Royal Order. The Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ orders that out of the Āṭṭakkōḷ (annual dues) from Kollattu Pantalāyaṇi, the Ūr (village assembly) was granted five nāḷi out of every six nāḷi and the mēlpāti of Tattamaṅgalam.

**Publication:** No. 6 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 165, p. 69. The present writer could not trace the original stone. It is reported to have been destroyed following a dispute about the ownership of the temple. Read 'ūrāl kollumāttaikkōḷ' in place of 'ūrīl kollāṭṭaikkōḷ' in Ll. 4-5. Read 'arunnāḷiykku aṇṇāḷi' in place of 'arunāḷi — aṇṇāḷi' in Ll. 5-6. Read 'ūrkkuvitta tattamaṅgalmēlpāti' in place of 'ūrkkuniṭṭa — tamaṅgala mēlpāti' in Ll. 7-9. (corrections by the present writer from estampage in the Government Epigraphists' office, Mysore). This short record confirms the extension of the authority of Rāma Kulaśēkhara to Pantalāyaṇi Kollam in the north also.

- No.** A. 73
- Place:** Tiruvalaṇḷuḷi, Tanjore district, Tamilnāṭu. South wall of maṇḍapa in front of central shrine in Kapardiśwara temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script- Tamil. Damaged. Language – Tamil.
- Date:** King Viṅkrama Cōḷa. Regnal year 4. 1122 AD. (Coronation 1118 AD) See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 342 for date of Viṅkrama Cōḷa. Mentions Cēramānār Rāma.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Mentions a number of gifts to the temple. Mentions a gift of 14 Kācu for a tumbal garland to the deity for the benefit of Cēramānār Rāma Varma.

**Publication:** No. 623 of 1902. *S.I.I.*, VIII, No. 221, pp. 114-15. Tamil transliteration.

- Remarks:** This record shows that Cēramānār Rāma, who must be the same as Rāma Kulaśēkhara Caṅṇavartikaḷ (coronation 1089 AD) of the Kollam inscription of the 13<sup>th</sup> year (1102 AD), lived and ruled at least up to his 33<sup>rd</sup> regnal year in 1122 AD, the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Viṅkrama Cōḷa. Perhaps this is the last known contemporary epigraphic reference to a Cēra sovereign. It is likely that the gift was made by some relative of his in the Cōḷa country after his death or disappearance.

- No. **A. 74**  
 Place: Irīññālakkūḍa. Inside wall of the first Prākāra in temple.  
 Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 19 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.  
 Date: King Bhāskara Ravi? Mentions 'Bhāskara Nampirānār' as donor. The title 'Kō' is absent here. Regnal year - Nil. Jupiter in Karikāṭaka. C. 10<sup>th</sup> century.  
 Contents: Royal charter. It is ordered that a plot called Paṭiññāyirru pōṭṭal given by Cōkirattu Potuvāḷ is re-named Bhāskarapura. The names of four Maṇikkirāmattār and their obligations to the temple as well as their rights and privileges are mentioned. Protection is entrusted to the six Hundred of Valḷuvanāṭṭu.  
 Publication: R.V.R.I.B., IX, 1, pp. 44. Mal. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.  
 Remarks: This is one of the few records which throw light on the foundation of a small township in Kerala. It also gives the names of the four Maṇikkirāmam people who were tenants of the Nakara.
- No. **A. 75**  
 Place: Talakkūḷattūr. Courtyard of the temple.  
 Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 22 lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.  
 Date: King.... Tiruvaṭi, Kō. Regnal year Nil (Damaged). C. 883 AD. The portion containing king's name and regnal year is damaged. It reads 'Kō..... Tiruvaṭikkuccellāniṇṇa-yāṇṭu....' The letters 'kko' are faintly visible after 'Kō' and therefore it may be identified with Kōṭa Ravi, but this is by no means established. The orthographic and linguistic features indicate the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries.  
 Contents: Temple Inscription. Some land is set apart for Nandāvilakku in temple by paying gold. Fine for default is prescribed. Terms like 'Kōyil Atikārikaḷ' and 'Kaḷaiñcu' are mentioned.  
 Publication: No. 2 of 1901. S.I.I., VIII, No. 161. Tamil transliteration. This record helps to assign the dilapidated temple with fine architectural and sculptural features to the 10<sup>th</sup> century.
- No. **A. 76**  
 Place: Chēḷannūr. Courtyard of the temple.  
 Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one surface and narrow side. 28 lines (22+ 6) Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.  
 Date: King. Nil (Damaged). Regnal year 5? (Damaged). The paleographic and linguistic features indicate late 11<sup>th</sup> century.  
 Contents: Temple Inscription. The object is not clear. Mentions Nandāvilakku and fine for violation of rules. Terms like "Perumān Aṭikaḷ" 'Kaḷaiñṇu' and 'perumakkaḷ' are found there. The scribe's name is stated as Kāri alias Peruntaccan. The narrow side of the stone has name 'Kuṭummanattu Kīran Kāriyāyina Ūraḷan'.  
 Publication: Unpublished. The present writer discovered and deciphered the inscription on information from Vijayan, teacher, near the temple.

- Remarks:** The present writer deciphered part of the regnal year as 'yāntaikketirayyāntu' meaning 5<sup>th</sup> year. This maybe the original endowment of the temple.
- No.** A. 77
- Place:** Tiruvangūr. Rock surface near the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Rock wall of a tank. 9 lines, the second half of all the lines damage. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Nil (Damaged), K6. Regnal year after 5 (? + 5). 11<sup>th</sup> century. The king's name has disappeared but the script and language suggest the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century or beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the same period as that of another inscription of the balikkal in front of the shrine belonging to Bhāskara Ravi, 35<sup>th</sup> year, (C Series) given above.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Tiruvakkiram instituted in the temple. Fine prescribed for violation of rules.
- Publication:** No. 15 of 1901. S.I.I., VII, No. 175, p. 74.
- Remarks:** Since part of the rock has fallen off, the lost passages are irrecoverable.
- No.** A. 78
- Place:** Muduvallūr. Broken pillar of the ruined temple.
- Material:** Stone. Surface of a big pillar. 16 lines. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Nil (Damaged). Regnal year 7 (7 + 0), 10<sup>th</sup> century. The king's name is illegible, but the year is clearly stated.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Paraṭalyār, Iḷaiyār, Akappotuvāḷ, and Puṟappotuvāḷ of Mutovallūr, meet in the presence of Kaṭapparpaḷḷi Aiyam Paramēccuvaran, the Vaḷaṅciyar, and unanimously decide to dedicate certain lands for Perutirukkōyil Tēvar temple.
- Publication:** Unpublished. This record was discovered and deciphered by the present writer in 1970.
- Remarks:** Kaṭapparpaḷḷi, from where the Vaḷaṅciyar (merchant) donor comes, appears as the home town of Rājendra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati in Eramam-Cālappuram inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58<sup>th</sup> year, cited above. A certain merchant from Kaṭapparpaḷḷi in Malaināṭu figures as donor in Cōḷa inscription of Rājārāja, 19<sup>th</sup> year, from Tiruvaṇḍandai, Chingelpet dt, Tamilnadu also (No. 273 of 1910).
- No.** A. 79
- Place:** Tirunellāi, Courtyard of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 24 lines? Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Nil (Damaged). Regnal year 20. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The king's name is illegible. Only the last part of the name 'Tiruvaṭi' can be deciphered. The script and language suggest an 11<sup>th</sup> century date.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Land gift for temple expenses. The institution of Nālppattēṇṇāyiravar is mentioned.



- Publication:** No. 241 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer copied the fragmentary text from the original stone.
- Remarks:** The institution of Nālpattenṇāyiravar appears to have been connected in some way with Jainism since it is mentioned in two Jain temple inscription, one from Tājakkāvu, Index No. B. 1 and the other from Ālathūr, Index No. C. 16.
- No.** A. 80
- Place:** Tiruvalla. Originally kept in the temple but transferred to Trivandrum and now in the custody of the Archaeological Department of Kerala.
- Material:** Copper plate. Forty three plates with writing on both sides. Eight plates missing (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 16, 32, 34, 41). It is likely that some plates at the end also have disappeared. 630 lines - 9 lines on one side. Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Vīra Cōḷa (Cōḷa Parāntaka 907 AD to 955 AD) and his queen Kīḷān Aṭika mentioned. (Ll. 99 and 109) King Manukulāditya (Cēra king Bhāskara Ravi alias Manukulāditya. 962 AD to C. 1021 AD) mentioned as donor while he was crown prince (L. 285) and while he was the sovereign (L. 302). The contents evidently belong to different periods and were collected, rearranged and edited at a later date. The script and language suggest the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The absence of reference to 'accu' which became popular by the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century would preclude the idea of the plates belonging to a later date.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolutions. The donations made at different times by different persons for different types of offerings in the temple like Tiruvilakku, Tiruvamirtu, Tiruvakkiram, Nīrāṭṭupālṇi, Akkāratalai, Snāpanam, Pañcamasābdam, Dvādaśī celebration, Āvaṇi Ōnam celebration, etc are registered along with the details of lands or gold contributed or leased out, and the conditions of tenure and service. Mūḷikkulattu Kaccam and Śankaramaṅgalattu Kaccam are quoted. Fine and other punishments are prescribed for violation of rules. A large number of district governors, merchants and others are mentioned and different measures like eṇṇāḷippaṛa, onpatināḷippaṛa and patināḷippaṛa are indicated. The prices of several articles are listed.
- Publication:** T.A.S., II, III, pp. 131-207. Photos, Tamil transliteration, and Eng. Abstract of contents, with Index of personal names, villages and plots, and tables of Vatṭeḷuttu letters and numerical symbols.
- Remarks:** This unique collection of copper plates gives a chance to see at a glance the whole development of a representative Grāmakṣētra which was also a big Vaiṣṇavite centre, through the 9<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is a mine of information regarding temple rituals, deities, festivals, castes, professions, personal names, plot names, prices etc in this period. It provides a contemporary record of the growth of temple-centered feudalism in Kerala.

**Table B**

**Records Dated or Datable without Regnal years and Royal name**

<b>No.</b>	<b>B. 1</b>
<b>Place:</b>	Tāḷakkāvu in Pūtāḍi, Wynad. Originally buried in the ground, near Jain Basati. Discovered by K.K.N. Kurup, student in the Department of History, Calicut University, in 1970, and recently taken over by the Archaeological Department of Kerala.
<b>Material:</b>	Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 31 x 2 1/2'. 13 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with mixture of Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
<b>Date:</b>	Year 137 of Tirukkunavāy Tēvar. C. 850. The script and language suggest the later part of the 9 <sup>th</sup> century.
<b>Contents:</b>	Kuṭampāṭi 24 poti and Nākerpoṭai 12 poti are set apart for Ney and Viḷakku by Nālpattēnnāyiravar in the 137 <sup>th</sup> year of Tirukkunavāy. Those who obstruct this would be considered as offenders against Tirukkunavāy.
<b>Publication:</b>	Unpublished. It was discovered by K.K.N. Kurup, student in Department of History, Calicut University, in 1970. The present writer has reconstructed it from an eye copy by Mr. M.R. Raghava Varier.
<b>Remarks:</b>	This record reveals that Tirukkunavāy was the model of Jain temples in Kerala and suggests that Tirukkunavāy was founded in the early part of the 8 <sup>th</sup> century.
<b>No.</b>	<b>B. 2</b>
<b>Place:</b>	Pāliyam, Cēnnaṁaṅgalam, Cochin.
<b>Material:</b>	Copper. Two plates with writing on both sides. 78 lines (10 + 16 + 22 + 30) Script-Tamil in the first side of the first plate and Nāgari in the rest of the plates. Language-Tamil and Sanskrit.
<b>Date:</b>	King Varaguṇa, Lord of Viḷiññam. Regnal year 15. 28 <sup>th</sup> December 898 AD. Cēra king Vijayarāga is probably referred to in a Ślōka through double entendre. Thursday, Mṛigaśīrā (Makayiram) Nakṣatra, Lunar Month of Pusya, Solar month of Makara, Śuklapakṣa, Dvādasi. T.A. Gopinatha Rao suggested Thursday, 35 <sup>th</sup> December, 868 AD. This is wrong as Karunantaṭakkan, predecessor of Varaguṇa, is known to have lived up to 879 AD. Prof. Elamkulam suggested Thursday, 29 <sup>th</sup> December, 925 AD. This too is wrong since it would not suit the 15 <sup>th</sup> regnal year, for Karunantaṭakkan could not have ruled for 53 years, his last known regnal year being 28 only. The present writer accepts 28 <sup>th</sup> December, 898 which suits the astronomical data, regnal year and other historical evidence.

- Contents:** Thirteen Sanskrit ślokas. The first one praises the Buddha. The second praises Dharma and Sangha. The third śloka praises Avalokiteśvara. The fourth, fifth and sixth ślokas praise the warlike fame, wealth, and nobility of the king's dynasty which is described as Vṛṣṇikula in the seventh śloka. The second half of the eighth śloka (the first part is lost) describes the king as Lord of Viṣṇūnam. The ninth śloka yields the regnal year and the astronomical data and refers to the Tamil portion for details of the plot donated. The tenth śloka mentions Vīra Kōta, appointed by the king (evidently the Cēra king since Śrīmūlavāsa Vihāra was located in central Kerala) as protector of the property handed over to the Vihāra. The tenth and eleventh ślokas contain a request to the king's descendants to uphold dharma and protect the land of donation. The thirteenth śloka contains a general appeal to all people to turn to acts of benevolence. The Tamil portion describes the boundaries of the land donated.
- Publication:** T.A.S., I, XII A, pp. 187-93. Photo. Tamil and Nāgari transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Elamkulam, *Praśnaṅgaḥ*, I, pp. 100-35; III, pp. 1-35. Mal. Translation and notes. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭṭhānaśilakal*, pp. 10-44. Mal. Transliteration and notes. See also 'Pāṇḍyan suzerainty over the Āy kingdom', *Proceedings of Seminar of Pāṇḍyan History*, Madurai University, 1971.
- Remarks:** This is the only epigraphic record registering a gift to Śrīmūlavāsa Buddhist vihāra in central Kerala near Ambalappuḷa and that too by the Āy King of South Kerala, who was vassal of the Pāṇḍyan king. The Vihāra is otherwise known from the *Mūṣakavamsa Kāvya*. Besides giving the date of coronation of Āy king Varaguṇa Viṣṇumāditya and showing his Buddhist leanings, this record reveals his friendly relations with the Cēra and the Cēra patronage of the Buddhist Vihāra. Both Gopinatha Rao and Prof. Elamkulam have assumed that some plates are lost but as it is the record is complete.
- No.** B. 3
- Place:** Rāmantaḷi at the foot of Eḷimala. Courtyard of Narayankannūr temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on both sides. 38 lines (17+21). Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Kali year 4029 in words and the chronogram 'Panthāvākēśavōya' - Kali day 147471 according to Kaṭapayādi rule. This corresponds to 929 AD. The Government Epigraphist deciphered this as 'Panthāvākēśavōya' reading 'śa' in the place of 'sa' and calculating 3976 in place of 4029 - evidently a mistake. Mūṣaka prince Validhara Viṣṇumarāma is mentioned as donor - a fact which the Govt. Epigraphist missed.
- Contents:** Nampiyār vikkirama Rāma donates land for Nandāvilākkū and Nivēdyam to Narasiṅga Viṇṇakar Tēvar. The tenants are mentioned by name. Mūḷikkalattu cavatai is quoted. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Maṇikkirāman is appointed as guardian.
- Publication:** No. 474 of 1926. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭṭhānaśilakal*, pp. 93-113. Vatṭeluttu text, Mal. Transliteration, Mal. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** The Government Epigraphist's decipherment of the chronogram as 'Panthāvākēśavōya' was evidently wrong as it disagreed with the statement of the Kali year in the first line. They have not published the text and they did not see the reference to the name of the Mūṣaka prince Validhara Viṣṇumarāma. Besides, their notice contained a reference to 'Maṇattunai Muṇṭan Koṭṭātai' a name which does not occur in the inscription. This record brings out the name and period of a Mūṣaka

prince Validhara Vikramarāma who was otherwise known only from the *Mūṣakavamsa Kāvya*. Validhara, the name of Vikramarāma's predecessor, is also mentioned in the first part of the royal name. The reference to Mūlikkalam in this Mūṣaka inscription shows the inclusion of this territory in the Cēra sphere of influence. The presence of Maṇikkirāmat̃tar is mentioned. For the importance of this record, See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from the Mūṣakavamsa', *Proceedings of The All India Orientalists Conference*, Jadhavpur, 1969.

- No.** B. 4  
**Place:** Parumala. Site of the ruined temple.  
**Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 6 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.  
**Date:** Kali Day 1474082 in words. 934 AD.  
**Contents:** Kulivilakkunṇan Cāttan, a scribe under Paramēccuvaran Cuppiramaṇiyan alias Brahmādhiraṇjan constructs a balipīṭham and endowment for Oḷukkavi with *nālī* rice.  
**Publication:** V.R. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācīnalikhitāṅga*, pp. 156-58. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes.

**Remarks:** Temple Inscription. The present writer could not trace the site. No estampage of the record is available. It may be suspected that the name deciphered as 'Paramēccuvaran Pavviramaṇiyan' in Ll. 3-4 is actually Paramēccuvaran Cuppiramaṇiyan. Moreover, the epigraphist has interpreted 'Paramēccuvaran Pavviramaṇiyanāyina' in Ll. 3-4 is actually Paramēccuvaran Cuppiramaṇiyan. Moreover, the epigraphist has interpreted 'Paramēccuvaran Pavviramaṇiyanāyina Piramātirāyan' as meaning 'Paramēśvara the Pramāthi' and taken it as denoting the deity in the temple. The present writer takes it as denoting a person called Paramēśwaran Subrahmanyān alias Brahmādhiraṇjan (Piramātirāyan) the employer of the donor.

- No.** B.5  
**Place:** Kaviyūr. North and west bases of the central shrine.  
**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 2 lines running across the stones. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.  
**Date:** Kali 4051 in words. 951 AD. This must fall in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Indu Kōta's reign.  
**Contents:** Temple Inscription. Maḷilañcēri Tēvan Cētan makes land gift for Tiruviḷakku, Tiruvamirtu, Tiruvakkiram, Tiruccantanam and Tiruppukai. Mūlikkaḷattu kaccam is quoted.  
**Publication:** T.A.S., I, No. XVII C, p. 289. Photo, Tamil transliteration (fragmentary) and notes. T.A.S., V, No.3, p.7. Tamil transliteration of revised text.

**Remarks:** This appears to be the original endowment for the temple.

- No.** B. 6  
**Place:** Kaviyūr. South and east bases of the central shrine.  
**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines running across all the stones. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.  
**Date:** Kali year 4052 in words. 952 AD. This must fall in the 8<sup>th</sup> year of Indu Kōta's reign.

- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Ūrār of Kaviyūr meet in the presence of the Kōyil and unanimously accept the land gift made by Maṅgalattu Nārāyaṇan Kēcavan and Nārāyaṇan Kiriṭṭan for Nandāvilakku, Tiruvamōrtu, and Tiruvakkiram. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Mūjikkaḷattoḷukkam is quoted. Tenants are nominated.
- Publication:** T.A.S., I, No. XVI B, p. 288. Photo, Tamil transliteration (fragmentary) and notes. T.A.S., V, No. 2, p. 6. Tamil transliteration of revised text.
- Remarks:** A prohibitory order to the effect that even the unanimous meeting of the Ūrār has no power to alter this decision is a unique feature of this inscription.
- No.** B. 7
- Place:** Trikkākara. East base of central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 10 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Paṇṇitturuttī Yakkan Kuṟappōḷan, Governor of Kāḷkkaraināṭu. C. 950 AD. Iḷamturutti Kōtai Kērajan who figures in this record must be father of Iḷamturutti Kērajan Nārāyaṇan of Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōṭa, 16<sup>th</sup> year. Index No. A. 25. Similarly Puḷḷippaḷḷi Caṅkaran Cirikaṇṭan of the present record must be both-er of Puḷḷippaḷḷi Caṅkaran Kumaran mentioned there. Therefore the date is about a generation earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> year of Indu Kōṭa (960 AD), i.e. the beginning of the reign of Indu Kōṭa.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Registers an order prohibiting the practice of lending gold from the temple. Prescribes fine and suspension for violating the rule. Iḷamturutti Kōtai Kērajan, the author of the agreement, and Puḷḷippaḷḷi Caṅkaran Cirikaṇṭan, the scribe, are mentioned by name.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No: 39 pp.174-75. Tamil transliteration English text and notes.
- Remarks:** This is a rare instance of a prohibitory order on lending gold belonging to the temple. It probably indicates the Ūrār's anxiety that the wealth of the temple shall not be misused or lost in course of time.
- No.** B. 8
- Place:** Trikkākara. South and east bases of cuṟṟumaṇḍapa.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Paṇṇitturuttī Yakkan Kuṟappōḷan, Governor of Kāḷkkaraināṭu. C. 950 AD. Jupiter in Ciṅgam. The Governor is the same as that of the previous Trikkākara inscription, Index No. B.7. Therefore the present record belongs to the same period as the previous one, i.e., the early years of Indu Kōṭa if not the last years of his predecessor. The position of Jupiter shows that it could be 936 AD or 948 AD or 960 AD.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. A Certain individual institutes Viricciḷaviḷakku and the Governor provides land for Tiruvilakku in the temple.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No. 38, pp. 173-174. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Nil.
- No.** B. 9
- Place:** Trikkākara. East base of the cuṟṟumaṇḍapa.

- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 5 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Kaṇṇan Puṛayan, Governor of Kāḷkkaraināṭu, 958 AD. This governor figures in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> years of Indu Kōṭa. Index No. A. 25, 26. However, the position of Jupiter in Mithuṇam would indicate either the 14<sup>th</sup> year or the 26<sup>th</sup> year of Indu Kōṭa. The latest year of Indu Kōṭa so far known being the 17<sup>th</sup>, the present record may be safely attributed to the 14<sup>th</sup>, i.e. 958 AD.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. While Kaṇṇan Puṛayan was governing Kāḷkkaraināṭu, a resolution is passed prohibiting the practice of lending gold from the temple. Mūḷikkalaḷa kaccam is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S. III, No. 41, pp. 177-179. Tamil transliteration, Engl. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** A decision to prohibit the practice of lending gold from the temples mentioned here.
- No.** B. 10
- Place:** Trikkākara. South and east bases of the curṇumaṇḍapa.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of stone, with writing on one side. 5 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Jupiter in Kaṇṇi - 961 AD. Kārilattu Kaṇṇan Kumaran who figures as the donor in the present record, figures in the same capacity in a record of Indu Kōṭa, 17<sup>th</sup> year, (960 AD) Index No. A.26. Therefore this record cannot be far removed from 960 AD in time. The position of Jupiter in Kaṇṇi suggests that the year 961 AD is a possible date.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Records the donation of 36 Kalaṇṇu of gold by Kārilattu Kaṇṇan Kumaran. This is invested on land which is then leased out for fixed revenue.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No. 40, pp. 176-77. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Mentions the coins called 'paḷan kāṣu', the measures called 'tēvar tuṭavu' and 'tēvar paṇai' and the tax called 'kaṭamaḷ'.
- No.** B. 11
- Place:** Māmpaḷḷi. Originally owned by Māmpaḷḷi Maḍham, near Trivandrum and now preserved at Padmanabhapuram Museum by the Department of Archaeology, Kerala.
- Material:** Copper. Single plate with writing on both sides. 26 lines (14 + 12) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Kollam year 149 in words. November 9<sup>th</sup>, 973 AD. (See Kielhorn quoted in T.A.S., IV, pp. 4-5.) Jupiter in Tulaṁ. Month of Vriccikam. Sunday. Aśwati nakṣatra. This must be placed in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series).
- Contents:** Royal Order. While Tiruccenkunṛur Paruṭai Perumakkaḷ were assembled in the high mansion of the Paṇaiṅkāvil palace at Kollam, Śrīvallavan Kōṭai, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, gave away the sole rights of the Paṭṭarakar installed by Tirukkaḷaiyapurrattu Āticcan Umaiyammai at Ayirūr and the land assigned to the deity to that lady, and that lady in turn gave what she received to Tiruccenkunṛur as Kūḷiṭu with provision for the routine expenditure and the payment of protection fee to the Poturvaḷ. Fine is prescribed. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned.

**Publication:** *E.I.*, IX, p. 234 ff. *Eng. Transliteration, translation and notes. T.A.S.*, IV, No. 1, pp. 1-11. Photo, Tamil transliteration of revised text. *Eng. Translation and notes. Elamkuḷam, Annatte Kēraḷam*, pp. 146-53. *Mal. Transliteration of revised text, translation and notes. Parameswaran Pillai, Prācīnalikhitāṅgaḷ*, pp. 181-88. *Mal. transliteration of old text, translation and notes.*

**Remarks:** This record is the earliest to mention the Kollam era. It registers a royal gift to a female and her gift to the temple witnessed by the governor, the village assembly etc. This double deed is a rare occurrence. This record mentions the Paṇaiñkāvil palace at Kollam which is again mentioned in the Kollam record of Rāma Kuḷaśēkhara, 13<sup>th</sup> year, 1102 AD.

**No.** B. 12

**Place:** Māmpaḷḷi. Owned by Māmapḷḷi Maḍham.

**Material:** Copper. Single plate with writing on both sides. Fragmentary. Some plates containing portions at the beginning and end are not traced. 26 lines (13 + 13) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Year Nil. King Nil. C. 973 AD. The record deals with the regulation of Rakṣābhōgam to be given to Tiruccenkunṛūr by Ayirūr and Ciṭṭūr and the Brahmasvam of the two last mentioned temples. As the foundation of these temples and their subjugation to Tiruccenkunṛūr forms the subject of Māmpaḷḷi plates of Śrīvallavan Kōta, 149 ME (973 AD) given as No. B. 11 above, the present record, showing the same characteristics in script and language, may be considered to be a companion of that and ascribed approximately to the same date.

**Contents:** Temple Inscription. Plots of land are set apart for expenses of Amāvāsi and Nāḷeṇṇam, and the payment of Rakṣābhōga on behalf of Ayirūr and Ciṭṭūr to Tiruccenkunṛūr, and also for Brahmasvam.

**Publication:** *T.A.S.*, IV, 1, No. 2, pp. 11-16. Photo, Tamil transliteration, *Eng. Translation and notes.*

**Remarks:** Though this forms a fragment of a separate document it is a sort of companion or sequel to the royal grant (No. B. 11 above) by which the Ayirūr and Ciṭṭūr temples, of which details are provided here were established.

**No.** B. 13

**Place:** Tiruvannamḍūr. Base of the cuṭṭumandapa.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 13 lines, each spread out on the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, is mentioned. As the Māmpaḷḷi copper plate issued by this chieftain (No. B. 11 above) is dated in 149 ME corresponding to 973 AD the present record may be attributed to c. 973 AD in the absence of more precise information.

**Contents:** Temple Inscription. Śrīvallavan Kōtai, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, made land gift to the temple. Arrangements are then made for leasing out the lands. Perumān Aṭṭai is mentioned. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Full power to die and kill is granted to the Munnūṭṭuvar, appointed guardians of the endowment. Mūḷikkala kaccam is mentioned.

**Publication:** *T.A.S.*, II, No. 4 (A), pp. 22-4. Tamil transliteration, *Eng. Translation and notes.*

**Remarks:** The reference to Perumān Aṭikaḷ in this record shows that Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu (Vēṇātutaiya), was subject to the Cēra king though his three records (Māmpaḷli copper plate,) the present record and the one that follows) do not mention the regnal year of the sovereign.

**No.** B. 14

**Place:** Tiruvanmaṇḍūr. Base of the curruṇaṇḍapa.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines, all spread out on stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, is mentioned. C. 973 AD. See Māmpaḷli plate of Śrīvallavan Kōta. Index no. B. 11 for discussion of date.

**Contents:** Temple Inscription. Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, made land gift to Tiruvāyampāṭi shrine. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Munnūṟṟuvar is mentioned. Mūḷikkāḷa Kaccam is quoted.

**Publication:** T.A.S., II, No. 4 (B), pp. 24-5. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** The two records - this and the previous one - might be the products of the same year and date, for they register gifts by the same person to two different shrines in the same temple.

**No.** B. 15

**Place:** Dēvidēvēśvaram. Owned by Kollūr Maḍham.

**Material:** Copper. Sixteen plates with writing on both sides. 284 lines. (8 lines in some and 9 lines in others) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Kollam year 364. 1189 AD. Reissue of charter issued earlier (C.973 AD) by mother of Śrīvallavan Kōta. Month of Dhanu, 1<sup>st</sup> day, Saturday, Catayam nakṣatra, King Vīra Udaya Mārttāṇḍa (Varma), King of Vēṇaṭu. The record is claimed to be reissued by the king on request from the Sabha of Dēvidēvēśvaram since the original Praśasti issued by the mother of Śrīvallavan Kōta while the latter was ruler of Vēṇaṭu has decayed and become illegible. Therefore it may legitimately be expected to follow the same old lines as far as possible, i.e., to reproduce the system established in C. 973 AD.

**Contents:** Royal Charter. This is the renewal of the original endowment for the routine expenses of a temple and the maintenance of a Brahmin settlement around the temple. Provision is made by setting apart land for Akanāḷikai expenses, vīlas or festivals, Virutti of hereditary temple servants, and Jivita for casual employees, and Brahmasvam for 23 families. Rules for the management of all the property are framed and fine prescribed for violating rules.

**Publication:** T.A.S. IV. No.7. PP. 22-65; Photos, Tamil transliteration, English abstract of contents, and Index of land assignments and place names.

**Remarks:** This inscription reveals the constitution of a typical temple-centered Brahmin settlement founded in the Cera period in Kerala.

**No.** B.16

**Place:** Tiruvaḍūr. Partly in the courtyard of the temple on either side of the Sōpāna and partly in the sanctum sanctorum.



- Material:** Stone. Three slabs of granite forming second, third and fourth parts of record with writing on one side. The first part is not traced. 32 lines (11 + 12 + 9) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam and Sanskrit.
- Date:** Year Nūl. C. 1020 AD. The scribe is mentioned as the royal goldsmith of the Mūsaka king. The royal officer is mentioned as Irāman Cēmāni. From this it may be inferred that the record was executed when Cēmāni (Jayamāni) was Governor of Mūsaka or soon after his time. This Jayamāni was the immediate predecessor of Valabha according to *Mūsakavamsākāvya*. The kāvya says that the former sent his nephew Valabha to help the Kerala king preparing to oppose the Cōḷa invasion. This event gives a landmark in the region of Jayamāni which, according to the chronological scheme proposed by the present writer, may be placed in the last decade of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from the Mūsakavamsa', *Proceedings of the A.I.O.C.*, Jadhavpur, 1969 and *Apisthāneślaka*, pp. XVI- XVII. Therefore the present record may be attributed to the last decade of the 10<sup>th</sup> century or the first two decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The kāvya states that Valabha, the successor of Jayamāni, installed Ārya (Śāsta) at Vṣukēśwaram (Tiruvaḍūr) and that his successor Śrikanṭha renovated the temple. The present record may belong to the time of this renovation and may be assigned to C.1020 AD - a known date in the reign of Śrikanṭha. See *Eramam* Inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58<sup>th</sup> year, (A Series) No. A. 40 above.
- Contents:** Royal Charter. Creation and endowment of a Brahmin settlement with 24 members drawn from 5 old Brahmin settlements of central Kerala i.e. Vaikkam, Paṛavūr, Āvaṭṭiputtūr, Irīññālakkūda, and Peruvanam. Hereditary tenure is specified. Fines are prescribed for violation of rules. Witnesses are mentioned. The concluding portion in Sanskrit mentions Mūṣikēśavara suvarṇakāra, (goldsmith of the Mūsaka king) and contains an invocation for divine grace.
- Publication:** Nos. 477 and 478 of 1926. Unpublished. They are noticed as two separate inscriptions but they really form part of one. The present writer examined the two blocks containing no. 477 of 1926 lying outside the shrine on 19-1-'69 and copied the text from there. It was not possible at that time to examine the block containing no. 478 of 1926 kept inside the sanctum sanctorum of the shrine. The text of this part was copied from the estampage in the Govt. epigraphist's office, Mysore.
- Remarks:** This record reveals the practice of selecting Brahmins from different old grāmas when a grāma settlement is established or enlarged. It brings out the close links between Kōlattunāṭu and other parts of Kerala in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and gives additional proof of the historical authenticity of the later chapter of *Mūsakavamsa kāvya*.
- No.** B.17
- Place:** Veḷḷūr. Wall to the left of entrance in temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam and Sanskrit.
- Date:** Kali Day 1510707 (expired) in words. (22<sup>nd</sup> of March 1035 AD) Month of Māgha. Saturday.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Records the construction of an ambalam at Tiruveḷḷūr. Ends with a benedictory verse in Sanskrit.
- Publication:** No. 66 of 1965-6. Unpublished.

- Remarks:** The Sanskrit śloka at the end of an ordinary donative record is a rare feature.
- No.** B. 18
- Place:** Trikkākara. Outside wall of the south base of the Maṇḍapa at the proper right of entrance.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 2 lines, each of them spread out on the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Tirukkālkkarai Perumāḷ's year 105 in words. Jupiter in Mēṭam. Month of Kaṇṇi. C.1050 AD. The Government Epigraphist has deciphered the opening passage as 'Tirukkākaraip̄perumāḷ Tarvāticcanceyaruḷiccellārinṇa mūvāyirattējunūṟṟaiyā-māṇṭaikkettirāṇṭu'. Finding it impossible to assume that the temple was constructed 3705 years before the record, the script of which, according to him, showed 13<sup>th</sup> century characteristics, he thought that there might have been at least such a belief or tradition. The present writer would suggest 'mūvāyirattoḍu' in place of 'mūvāyirattēju' so that actually the 105<sup>th</sup> year of the temple is intended. The earliest datable inscription from Trikkākara is on the 10<sup>th</sup> year of In-du Kōṭa (954 AD) and, it is likely that the temple was founded somewhere about the beginning of that century. Therefore the present record may belong to C.1050 AD. and the script and language really suggest the 11<sup>th</sup> century.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Cāttan Cī---n, Governor of Kāḷkkaraināṭu, makes a gift on his birth day to the temple.
- Publication:** T.A.S. III, No. 44, pp. 184-5. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** The date suggested by the Government Epigraphist is untenable and the present writer has put forward another interpretation of the passage. (See above.) This record yields at least an approximate idea of the period of the foundation of the foremost Vaiṣṇava shrine associated with Ōṇam Festival, besides providing another example of the popularity of temple eras in that age.
- No.** B. 19
- Place:** Trikkākara. South base of the Cuṟṟumaṇḍapa in temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite. 2 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Jupiter in Mithuṇam, Month of Ciṅgam. Script and language support this inference. C. 1065? For details, See B. 20 from Trikkāḍiṭhānam temple.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. In the presence of Aṭikaḷ Māluvaḱkōṅār and Arunūṟṟuvar, Tāmōtiran Eḷuvaratiyāḷ agree to pay fixed amount of rice as rakṣābhōgam for Taḷuvankuṇṇam. The Potuvālmār of Tēvar agree to protect the inhabitants of the village.
- Publication:** T.A.S. III, No. 47, pp. 188-9. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This record reveals the title of Māluvaḱkōṅār used by the governor of Kīḷmalai-nāṭu. A certain Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māluvaḱkōṅ, Governor of Kīḷmalai-nāṭu, and Arunūṟṟuvar are mentioned in Tiruvalla plates. (A. 80. L. 351) and a stone inscription from Trikkāḍiṭhānam temple (B.20). The donor of this record cannot be far removed from Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māluvaḱkōṅār mentioned in these places.

- No. **B. 20**
- Place: Trikkāṭṭhānam. Base of the central shrine.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines, each spread on the stones. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Jupiter in Eṭavam. Month of Kumbam. Monday. Tīruvōṇam nakṣatra. References to Kaccam, 'kalaiṇṇu' of gold, and the script and language indicate the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The astronomical data yields 1064 AD as a possible date.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvālmār, meet in the presence of Kīlmalai Arunūruvar, Nanṇuḷaiṇāṭṭu Munnūruvar and Paṇi Uṭaiyavakal and accept the gift of Cērikkal for Nandāvilakku from Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn, Governor of Kīlmalaināṭu, and lease it out to Kōṭṭikkalattu Iyakkān Kōvinnan. The rent is fixed in terms of Paddy and gold. The scribe is mentioned by name.
- Publication: T.A.S., V, No. 59, pp. 181-3. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks: This record gives the price of paddy in gold. 1 Kalaiṇṇu of gold = 2 Kalam of paddy.
- No. **B. 21**
- Place: Rāmantaḷi at the foot of Eḷimala. Base of central shrine of Narayankaṇṇūr temple.
- Material: Stone. Three blocks of granite with writing on one side. 9 lines (2 + 3 + 4). Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date: Kali Day 1523929 expressed by the chronogram 'Dhareddhō Gurumukhyānāl', 1075 AD. The Government Epigraphist's report states the chronogram and Kali day but does not give its corresponding year in Christian era. A later report in 1970 (used by the Archaeological survey, southern circle) mentions the date as 1132 AD. Evidently they got this year by dividing the Kali day with 360 and finding the corresponding year in Christian era. Actually the Kali day is to be divided by 365 and not 360 and this result (1075 AD.) is justified by the king's name. King Kunda Ālupar is mentioned. He is mentioned in a Sanskrit record of Kali 4268 (1068 AD) from Kadri Mañjunātha temple also. (See S.J.I., VII, p.87).
- Contents: Temple Inscription. Hiranyagarbhan caused the construction of the image. The Śrīkōyil was built in granite with the help of Kunda Āluparāiyar. Candraśekharaṇ constructed the shrine. This was done in the times of Kuṇṇan Bhaṭṭan and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇ.
- Publication: No. 475 of 1926. The Government Epigraphist's version has not been published. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Atiśthānasīlakal*, pp. 106-109. Vaṭṭeḷuttu text, Mal. translation, translation and notes.
- Remarks: This short record shows the time of the renovation of the temple where an original endowment is registered in 928 AD. (No. 474 of 1926. No. B.3 above) It is the second dated inscription of Kunda Ālupar who probably exerted influence in this region.
- No. **B. 22**
- Place: Tirukkulaśekharaṇapuram. Step in front of the central shrine.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 9 lines. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

- Date:** Tirukkulaśekharaपुरam temple year 195. Month of Makaram. Uttiram nakṣatra. C. 1075 AD. The foundation of this temple must be associated with the royal Vaiṣṇavite saint Kulaśekhara, as it is the biggest Viṣṇu temple of the Cera capital. The only Kulaśekhara known to epigraphy before the last Perumāḷ is Sthānu Ravi Kulaśekhara (844-883 AD). If he is identified as the royal saint and the foundation of the temple placed in the end of his reign, somewhere about 880 AD, we get c. 1075 AD as the date of the present inscription. The script and language suggest the latter part of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Taḷi and Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ meet and Vempalanāṭṭu Pōjan Iravi, the keeper of the treasury, accept gold from Nakkalaliyakattu Kōvinna Tāmōtirar for instituting a kūttu (dance drama) in conformity with the rules of the temple.
- Publication:** No. 226 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 790, 340. Tamil transliteration. T.A.S., VI, II, pp. 193-4. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Read 'taḷikkucellānirayāṇṭu' in place of 'taḷikkucellānirayāṇṭu' in Ll. 1-2. (correction by the present writer from original stone). This record gives an approximate idea of the foundation of the temple. It mentions a treasure of the temple and Kūttu (dance dram) conducted there.
- No.** B. 23
- Place:** Kiṇālūr. Site of ruined temple. The stone is not to be traced.
- Material:** Stone. Slab of granite with writing on two sides. 53 lines (32 + 21). Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Tirukkāḷiyappaṭāra's consecration year 189. Jupiter in Makaram. Month of Mēṭam. Wednesday. Avittam nakṣatra. 1083 AD. Mentions Vijayarāgiśvaram, i.e. temple of Vijayarāga (883 - C. 913 AD). Since Vijayarāgiśvaram must have been founded between 883 and 913 AD, the 189<sup>th</sup> year must be found between 1072 of 1102 AD. In these years, February 22<sup>nd</sup> of 1083 AD agrees with the astronomical data furnished.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Provision is made for Tiruppālī Cānti, Kuṭai, Cantaṇam, Paḷittāṁam, Nandāviḷakku, Akkiram and Kūttu by Arappan Kuñci allas Kuṇṇupurai who donated lands to Kuṇṇavāynallūr and leased them out to Cāttan Arukkaṭi of Tiruvañcikkaḷam, and Kuṇṇan Ciraṇaṅkal and Cāttan Ciraṇaṅṭan. Manukulaicēkaranallūr is mentioned. Munnūṟṇuvar and Muvaḷiravar are mentioned.
- Publication:** No. 14 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 174, p. 74. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks:** Read 'Kāliya' in place of Kalica' in L.1. Read 'Tiruvabhiśēkan' in place of 'Tiruvabhiśēkan' in L.2. Read 189 in place of 159 in L.3. Read 'Kuṇṇavāynallūr' in place of 'Kuṇṇavāynallūr' in L.6 and Ll. 44-5. Read 'Paḷikkū' in place of 'Paṭāraṅku' in L.7. Read 'Celuttavallāṭakkil' in place of 'Celutta....' in L.22. Read 'Celuttavallāṭakkil' in place of 'Celutta....' in L.22. Read 'Kūttuncelutti' in place of 'kuttarecelutti' in Ll. 47. Read 'kaṭavor munnūṟṇuvarum' in place of 'kaṭavelunūṟṇuvarum' in Ll. 50-51. (Corrections by the present writer from estampage in Government Epigraphist's office, Mysore). This record is important in many ways. It brings out the existence of a paḷḷi (Jain temple) called Vijayarāgiśvaram and another called Manukulaicēkaranallūr. The former throws light on Vijayarāga's contacts with this part of the country described in *Mūśakavamsa kāvya*. It refers to Munnūṟṇuvar, probably of the junior prince of Kuṇṇupōraṇāṭṭu, for the first time. It refers to

Kuṇavāynallūr as a Jain temple, thereby suggesting the importance of Kuṇavāy, near the capital, as a Jain centre.

No. B. 24

Place: Kaṇṇapuram. Fixed on a platform outside the Prākāra of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on four sides. 71 lines (16 + 20 + 21 + 14). Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Udayavarma alias Rāmakuṭa Mūvar is mentioned. Regnal year Nil. C. 1122 AD. A certain Udayavarma of Kōlattunāṭu is mentioned as feudatory of the last Cēra Perumāḷ in *Kēraḷōḷpatti* chronicle. If this last Perumāḷ is identified as Rāma Kulasekhara, the Mūvar (king of Kōlattunāṭu) of the present record may be assigned to c. 1122 AD. The script and language would support this inference.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Gives details of land set apart for the routine expenses of Tirukkannapuram Tēvar, like Oḷukkavi, Tīruviḷakku, Cāntivirutti etc. A certain Nākasvāmi and Pairavasvāmi created the Prasthi in the presence of Utaiyavarma alias Rāmakuṭa Mūvar. A certain Kuṇṇan Kaṇṇan alias Kuṇṇamaitṭiṭṭai Nampiyār and son are stated to have made the pratiṣṭha.

Publication: No. 476 of 1926. Unpublished. The present writer jointly with M.R. Raghava Vari-  
er copied the text on 27-9-'69 from the original stone.

Remarks: The name of Udayavarman alias Rāmakuṭa Mūvar of the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century is brought to light by this inscription. It corroborates the statements of *Kēraḷōḷpatti* chronicle regarding the last phase of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai.

No. B. 25

Place: Mādāyi. Within the Muslim mosque.

Material: Copper. Single slab with writing on one side. Script-Arabic. Language-Arabic.

Date: Hijera 518. This year corresponds to 1124 AD.

Content: Commemoration plaque in the Muslim mosque. States that the mosque was founded in Hijera 518 (1124 AD)

Publication: No. 446 of 1929. Unpublished. Logan, *Malabar*, II, Appendix XXI, p. ccl XVIII. Eng-  
lish abstract. Innes and Evans, *Malabar*, pp. 25, 424. English abstract.

Remarks: This record is of crucial importance to a controversial problem. There is a tradi-  
tion, supported by Hindu chronicles like *Kēraḷōḷpatti* and Muslim works like *Toḥfu-  
tāl-Mujahideen*, that the last Cēra Perumāḷ embraced Islam and left the country  
for Mecca and afterwards his messengers founded the first ten mosques of Kerala  
including the one at Mādāyi. The date of the mosque at Mādāyi found in the  
present record has to be placed against this background. However, when this  
record was first noticed, its relevance to this Cēramān problem was not realised  
as it was believed that the Cēra kingdom disintegrated in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Prof.  
Eḷamkuḷam showed that the Cēra kingdom continued until 1102 AD. The present  
writer maintains on the strength of the reference to Cēramānār Rāmar in the  
Tiruvallaṅṇuḷ inscription that the kingdom continued for twenty years more, i.e.,  
until 1122 AD. This brings us near the date of the Mādāyi mosque founded in 1124  
AD and lends more authenticity to the Cēramān legend regarding the last king's  
conversion to Islam and his message.

## Table c.

### Records undated but approximately datable

- No.** C. 1
- Place:** Trichambaram. Base of the central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Two blocks of granite with writing on one side. 12 (8 + 4) lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. Jupiter in Eṭavam. Month of Dhagu. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century.
- Contents:** Mānavēpala Mānaviyatan, Governor of Ērānāṭu creates endowment for Tīruviḷakku at Tiruccernamaram. A certain Kāpāli Nārāyaṇan Bhaṭṭavijayan, some land, and the arrangements for weekly supply of oil are also mentioned.
- Publication:** Nil. This was discovered and deciphered by the present writer in November, 1970.
- Remarks:** The name of Mānavēpala Mānaviyatan, Governor of Ērānāṭu is interesting as it appears in the same way as in the Cochin Jewish Copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi, 38<sup>th</sup> year (A series), 1000 AD, no. A. 34 above. This appears to be a hereditary title for the governors of the division.
- No.** C. 2
- Place:** Māṇiyūr. Outside the Prākāra of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on four sides. 75 lines (20 + 12 + 19 + 24). Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. Jupiter in Eṭavam. Month of Karkketaṭaka. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language as well as the references to Mūḷikkaḷa kaccam and Kaḷaṇcu and Kāṇam would support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāḷ of Māṇiyūr and the Kōyil unani- mously make regulations regarding the lands assigned for the routine expenses in the temple. Mūḷikkaḷa Caṅkētam is quoted. The Akappotuvāḷmār and Uvaccakaḷ are made tenants of the temple.
- Publication:** No. 447 of 1929. Unpublished. The present writer copied the text, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, in November 1969 from the original stone.
- Remarks:** The extension of the sway of Mūḷikkaḷattu kaccam to Kōlattunāṭu in the 11<sup>th</sup> cen- tury is established by this inscription.

No. C. 3

Place: Kurpiyāṭṭoor. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on both sides. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script would suggest this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Land gift to temple.

Publication: No. 524 of 1930. Unpublished.

Remarks: Nil.

No. C. 4

Place: Vēlam. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on four sides and above. 62 lines (12 + 13 + 16 + 17 + 4). Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Nil-C. first half of 12<sup>th</sup> century as shown by script and language.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Lays down punishment for those who obstruct Tiruvārāṭinai, pūmi, and puruṣar of Vēlattu Tēvar as well as their accomplices.

Publication: No. 525 of 1930. Unpublished. The present writer copied the fragmentary text in December 1964 from the original stone.

Remarks: Nil.

No. C. 5

Place: Kāliyampallī. Courtyard of the temple, near the baḷipīṭha.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 15 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The Script and language would suggest this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Sabhai and kaṇṭam Raṇamāni aḷlas Polaivār, probably the Governor Pōlaināṭu, makes provision for Viḷakku in the temple.

Publication: No. 8 of 1901 S.J.L., VII, No. 167, p. 70. Tamil transliteration.

Remark: Read: 'Kaṇṭam Raṇamāni' in place of 'Kaṇṭanaraṇmāni' o L. 1-2. Read 'Kūṭi' in place of 'Kāṭi' in L. 2. Read 'tirukkoyilirkkārum' in place of 'tirukkōyilirkkārum' in L. 8. This record suggests that that Pōlaināṭu mentioned in *Kēraḷōḷpattī* chronicle existed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century in this region.

No. C. 6

Place: Kāliyampallī. In the corner of the courtyard of a small shrine outside the main Bhagavati temple. A fragmentary copy of this inscription is found in a neighbouring compound also.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language and the use of dots to denote a pure consonant would suggest the date.

**Contents:** Virakkal inscription. States that Cuvāmika[kaṭimalar Cēvakan Pirantapa Mārttāṇṭan died there.

**Publication:** No. 231 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer copied the text from the original stone in February 1969.

**Remarks:** This is very important as no other Virakkal inscription has been found so far in the Cēra kingdom. The present writer discovered a fragmentary copy of this inscription in a neighbouring compound and the sculpture of a warrior-like figure on a stone which was, according to the owner, once part of the inscription. This finding confirms the present writer's decipherment and the identification of the record as a Virakkal inscription.

**No.** C. 7

**Place:** Karikkāḍ, near Mañjēri. Floor of the entrance corridor through the Vātilmāṭam of the Ayyappa shrine.

**Material:** Stone. Two slabs with writing on one side. 27 lines (17 + 10). Fragmentary. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Year Nil. 10<sup>th</sup> century. The Script and language support this inference.

**Contents:** Temple inscription. The beginning and end of each line is cut off so that sentences cannot be reconstructed. Mentions Tacciyūr, cantapam (irupalam), Cālaippu(ram), Eṇṇaikkāṭu, Praśasti, māṭṭparigr(ham), tirukkōyil etc.

**Publication:** No. 234 of 1960. Unpublished.

**Remarks:** The Govt. epigraphist's summary in the annual report mentions 'kṭaippuram' but this is actually 'cālaippuram' meaning land assigned to Śālai or vedic college. This record is perhaps the earliest (10<sup>th</sup> century) recovered from Karikkāṭṭu grāma-kṣētra. This is one of the 32 original Brahmin settlements mentioned in Kēraḷapatti chronicle.

**No.** C. 8

**Place:** Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Base of the Subrahmanya shrine to the right of Sōpāna.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 10 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language and reference to Kaḷaṇṇu and Kāṇam support this inference.

**Contents:** Temple inscription. Paiyyanāṭṭu Iravi Kēlan, the Uvaccan, makes land gift for Uttamākkiram for Tirukkarikkāṭṭu Mēltēvar with land that he purchased. Fine prescribed for violation of rules.

**Publication:** No. 235 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, copied the text in April 1970 from original stone.

**Remarks:** Though the wording is similar to those which quote Mūḷikkala kaccam it is not mentioned here.

**No.** C. 9

**Place:** Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Base of the Subrahmanya Shrine to the right of Sōpāna.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 8 lines? Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.



- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language are of the same type as that of the previous one.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Tiruvakkiram is instituted at Tirukkarikkāṭu. Iyakkan Irāman received gold and made over his land for the purpose.
- Publication:** No. 236 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, copied the text in April 1970 from the original stone.
- Remarks:** Middle and end portions damaged.
- No.** C. 10
- Place:** Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Base of the Subrahmanya shrine to the right of Sōpāna.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 13 lines. Damaged, incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language are of the same type as that of the two previous ones (C.8 and 9, above). 'Kalañcu' is mentioned.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Land is purchased for gold and assigned for Tiruvakkiram in Tirukkarikkāṭu temple. Items for feast like ghee and curd are mentioned.
- Publication:** No. 237 of 1960-1. Unpublished.
- Remarks:** Highly damaged.
- No.** C. 11
- Place:** Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Floor of the sanctum sanctorum.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language would support this inference. They are of the same type as that of three previous ones. (C. 8, 9 and 10 above). 'Kalañcu' mentioned.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Prohibition of obstruction to cultivation in temple property. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules.
- Publication:** No. 238 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer copied the text in May 1970 from estampage in the Government Epigraphist's office, Mysore.
- Remarks:** This is only a fragment, probably the last part of an inscription.
- No.** C. 12
- Place:** Pulpaṇṇa, near Mañjēri. Base of the shrine to the right of Sōpāna.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 21 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language and references to Kalañcu and Kāṇam support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Pulappaṇṇai Ūr, Kōyil, Ērālanāṭṭu Aṟunūṟṟuvar and Eṭattiraināṭṭu Munnūṟṟuvar unanimously make provision for 'ūṭṭu' by assigning land to the temple. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Ūrālar are authorized to take over from Pāṭṭavāḷam in case of obstruction.

- Publication:** No. 282 of 1969. Unpublished. The present writer, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, copied the text on 13<sup>th</sup> April, 1970 from the original stone.
- Remarks:** This record mentions for the first time the Aṟunūṟruvar Ēṟājanāṭu and the Munnūṟruvar of Ēṭattarānāṭu, the two offices or bodies being unknown to other sources. Ēṭattarānāṭu, a subdivision of Ēṟājanāṭu, is mentioned for the first time.
- No.** C. 13
- Place:** Muduvallūr. Broken pillar in the Perumṭṭṛkōvil temple.
- Material:** Stone. Four slabs of granite with writing on one side. 55 lines. (16 + 15 + 11 + 13). The last two pieces are completely damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language suggest this inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Potuvāḷmār etc. make provision for Ōṇam celebration by the assignment of land for the purpose. Tiruvamutu, Tiruvḷakku etc are mentioned.
- Publication:** Nil. This inscription was discovered and deciphered by the present writer in 1970.
- Remarks:** The temple itself is completely ruined but is being renovated.
- No.** C. 14
- Place:** Rāmanāṭṭukara. Courtyard of Parihārapuram temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite forming part of an inscription, with writing on one side. 13 lines. Fragmentary. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The Script and language and the reference to Mūḷḷikkāḷattu kaccam support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūṟājan, Potuvāḷ, etc. make some arrangements probably in connection with land gift to the temple. Mūḷḷikkāḷattu Kaccam quoted. Only a fragment without beginning and end has been discovered.
- Publication:** Unpublished. The present writer discovered and deciphered it in June 1963 from original stone.
- Remarks:** This inscription proves the antiquity of the temple.
- No.** C. 15
- Place:** Tirumattakōḍe, near Pattambi. Balikkal of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single block of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 10<sup>th</sup> century. The script exhibits characteristics of this period in Kerala.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Object is not clear. Seems to record land gift for food offering to the temple.
- Publication:** No. 62 of 1945. Unpublished.
- Remarks:** The record in itself is unimportant since it is fragmentary and undated but it calls attention to the antiquity of the temple. This is important as Kulasekhara

Ālvār mentions certain Tiruviṭṭuvakṣṭu in *Perumāḷ Tirumōḷi* and while some scholars have identified this with a place in Tamilnāṭu, others have identified it with this temple. See Index No. A. 52 also.

- No. C. 16  
 Place: Panniyūr. Courtyard of the temple near the entrance.  
 Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 23 lines. Highly damaged Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam  
 Date: Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language would support this inference.  
 Contents: Temple committee resolution. Potuvāḷ, Aṇṇūṭṭuvar and a person belonging to Intiyanūr meet on the maṇḍapa and make some agreements regarding property of a temple. The gift of Ūrāṇmai, Tāṇam, and Paraṭai of another subsidiary temple to the Ūrār of Panniyūr is registered. The scribe is mentioned by name.

Publication: No. 214 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 778, p. 336. Tamil transliteration.

- Remarks: The record in itself is unimportant, being fragmentary and undated. However, it establishes the antiquity of the grāmakṣētra of Panniyūr which played a prominent part in the medieval history of Kerala. Read 'Ūrāṅkkūrāṇmaiṇ' in place of 'Ūrāṅkaranmaiṇ' in L.13. Correction made by the present writer in December, 1963, from original stone.

- No. C. 17  
 Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Eastern side of courtyard in temple.  
 Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 22 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.  
 Date: Year Nil. 10<sup>th</sup> century. The Script and language support this inference.  
 Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār and Iḷaiyār of Cōkiram meet in the presence of Kōyil and receive a kiḷitu from Iravi Tēvi Amman for Tiruvijakku and entrust it to Taviraṇūr Pāṭṭavālan. Taviraṇūr kaccam is quoted. Limits are imposed on the rights of Ūrāḷar in the kiḷitu.

Publication: No. 208 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 772, p. 334. Tamil transliteration. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakāḷ*, p.53. Malayalam transliteration, translation and notes.

- Remarks: Read 'Paraṭaiyāru kōyilunkūṭi' in place of 'paraḷ (pāl) iruyilaiyāṇmankalattum' in L.1. 2-3. Read 'valayai ceyavupperār' in place 'palayai ceyyapperār' in L.17. Read 'ūrālarikkaccam' in place of 'U...kaccam' in L.1. 20-21. This is one of the two records - the other being a Tripraṅgōḍe inscription of Kōṭa Ravi, 27<sup>th</sup> year, 910 AD \* - quoting Taviraṇūr kaccam. In elaborating the rules it includes a prohibition of Kaṭṭilēraḷ, i.e. concubinage by Ūrāḷar in the kiḷitu region. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). A dot is employed above the line to show the pure consonant in germination.

- No. C. 18  
 Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Base of the second pillar of Vāṭilmāṭam in the temple.  
 Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 19 lines (4 + 5 + 5 + 5). Damaged. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.  
 Date: Year Nil. 10<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support this inference.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Irāyiravar (Rājasekhara), Potuvāḷ, Āḷkōyil, Ūrār etc conferring Ūrāṇmal, Tāṇam, and Paraṭai of some temple on some persons. The Ūrār of the two villages are enjoined to supervise temple affairs in the two places.

**Publication:** No. 209 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 773, p. 334. Tamil transliteration.

**Remarks:** Read 'Cōkirattu Ūrārum Irāyacēkaraṇēṇa Irāyiravaru vaḷḷuvāru potuvāḷum' in place of 'Cōkirattu toravam muriya cōkaraṇēṇa Irāyiravaru vivatavūr potuvāḷum' in Ll. 1-3. Read 'Tēvakāriyamum' in place of 'Tēvaka---yamuva' in L.16. (Correction by the present writer from original stone.) This record refers to the foundation of a new settlement under the supervision of Cōkīram.

**No.** C. 19

**Place:** Cōkīram (Sukapuram). Base of the first pillar of the Vāṭilmāṇam in temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 15 lines (4 + 4 + 3 + 4) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Year Nil. 10<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support this inference.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. A number of persons whose names are given are stated to have founded and donated a Dēvasvam for which they themselves are made Ūrājar by Cōkirattu kaccam.

**Publication:** No. 210 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 774, p. 335.

**Remarks:** Read 'Ūrāṇmaikalai' in place of 'Ūrāmalkalai' in Ll. 14-5. (Correction by present writer from original stone). This record refers to the foundation and constitution of a new temple-centered village.

**No.** C. 20

**Place:** Cōkīram (Sukapuram). Stone built into the pavement of the courtyard in temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 17 lines. Incomplete, script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Year Nil. Close of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. This mentions the original Tavaragūr kaccam which is quoted in a Tripraṅgōḍe inscription of Kōṭa Ravi, 27<sup>th</sup> year (910 AD) cited as no. A. 13 above. The script and language also agree with the close of the 9<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār, ḷaiyār of Cōkīram, Kōyil, and Irāya Cēkara the Vaḷḷavar jointly take action to bring under their protection Tavaragūr and the property for its maintenance. A series of prohibitions are mentioned. This must be the original Tavaragūr kaccam which supplied the model for others in the neighbourhood also.

**Publication:** No. 211 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 775, p. 335. Tamil transliteration. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭṭhāṇaṣṭakal*, pp. 53-4. Malayalam transliteration, translation and notes.

**Remarks:** Read 'paraṭaiyāru ḷaiyārum kōyilāy Irāya cēkaraṇēyiga' in place of 'paraṭaiyāru.... Varum... yilay Irāyacēkaraṇēyiga' in Ll. 1-2. Read 'koḷḷuvituncelutti koḷḷapperār' in Ll. 12-13. Read 'Ūrāṇmal' in place of 'kāraṇmal' in L.14. This is the only case of a record where the original of a model kaccam is recovered at least in part from a temple. For details, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭṭhāṇaṣṭakal*, pp. 45-60.

No. C. 21

Place: Rāyiranallūr, Naḍuvattam. Near the wall in the Bhagavati temple. Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on both sides. 15 lines. (8 + 7) Fragmentary and damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 10<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Damaged. Paraṭaiyār, Aḱappotuṇṇā etc of Rāyiranallūr make arrangements for supply of rice for offering in temple.

Publication: No. 353 of 1924. Unpublished.

Remarks: The present writer examined the estampage in the Government Epigraphists' office, Mysore. It is largely illegible. Rāyiran being the short form of Rājaśekhara, which is the hereditary title of the Valluvar or the governor of Valluvanāṭu, Rāyiranallūr mentioned in this record in Valluvanāṭu region might be a village name after the chieftain.

No. C. 22

Place: Painkanṇūr, Valāñcēri. South side of the passage to Subrahmanya temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 8 lines. Partly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār and Ūrār of Painkanṇūr and Aṭikaḷ Irāyacēkarar make an agreement to the effect that those who obstruct or plunder property set apart for Nāḷpaṅku, Nandāvilakku, Pali etc would be ostracized from the village.

Publication: No. 480 of 1926. No. 1 of 1927-8 of Kerala. Unpublished.

Remarks: The present writer copied and deciphered the fragmentary text from the original stone. Though this record does not quote any kaccam as such it clearly states that offenders from the village.

No. C. 23

Place: Pūkkōṭṭūr, Eḱaiyūr. Courtyard of temple.

Material: Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on one side. 22 lines (10 + 12). Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 10<sup>th</sup> century. Reference to Kaḷaiñṇu of gold and Mūḷḱkaḷaccavatai as well as the script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār, Orpaṭṭār, Aḱkōyil, Potuvā and Valluvar unanimously decide to accept land gifts for Tiruvijakku and Nivēccam, and prescribe fine for violation of rules. Mūḷḱkaḷaccavatai is quoted. The arrangements are made as long as the sun and moon endure.

Publication: No. 349 of 1924. Unpublished.

Remarks: The present writer copied the text from the original stone. The name of 'Mānavijayan' reminds us of 'Mānavēdan' one of the three hereditary male names in the family of the Zamorins of Calicut. Words like 'Niveccam' and 'cantirāṭṭi-cavai' illustrates certain linguistic peculiarities.

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- No.** C. 24
- Place:** Alanallūr, Mēlāttūr. Base of the central shrine of Mētrikkōvil temple, to the right of entrance.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 7 lines. Fragmentary. Script-Vaṭṭejuttu. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Reference to Mūjikkaḷakkarakkaccam and Kaḷaiñṇu of gold as well as the script and language support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. The stone contains the imprecatory portion at the end of a record. Registers the donation for rice by Nirccampukkāṭṭu Kaṇṇannanpi. Fine is prescribed for violating rules. Mūjikkaḷakkarakkaccam is quoted.
- Publication:** Unpublished.
- Remarks:** This record was discovered by P.E.D. Nambūdīri and deciphered by the present writer jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier. It serves to identify the approximate age of the temple.
- No.** C. 25
- Place:** Alanallūr, Mēlāttūr. Base of Naraḷattu Śrī Rāma temple, to the left of Sōpāna.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines, each running across the stones. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭejuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Reference to Mūjikkaḷakaccam as well as the script and language support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Full sentences cannot be reconstructed. Mentions Mūttār, Kōtan, Ūrājar, Mūjikkaḷakaccam etc.
- Publication:** Unpublished.
- Remarks:** This record was discovered by P.E.D. Nambūdīri and deciphered by the present writer jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier. It serves to identify the approximate age of the temple.
- No.** C. 26
- Place:** Polpully, Palghat. Site of the ruined temple in Ambalapparambu.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 12 lines? Script-Vaṭṭejuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 10<sup>th</sup> century. Reference to Kaḷaiñṇu as well as the script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Cētan Kuṇṇan donates 50 Kaḷaiñṇu of gold for Nandāvilakku and Nōvēdyam to Koḷappaḷḷi Tēvar.
- Publication:** No. 283 of 1959. Unpublished.
- Remarks:** The record serves to date the temple.
- No.** C. 27
- Place:** Karippōḍe, Koḷuvāyūr. Site of ruined temple.

- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on three sides. 10 lines? Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Kaṇṭha Nārāyaṇan of Ulpāṭṭu ilam, Āḷkōyil, and Putuvāḷ enter into an agreement regarding provision for akanāḷikai expenses.
- Publication:** No. 459 of 1929. No. 19 of 1966-7 (Kerala). Unpublished.
- Remarks:** The temple has disappeared completely leaving behind a few scattered stones in the site.
- No.** C. 28
- Place:** Gōdapuram, Ālathūr. Originally found in the ruined site of a Jain temple along with images. Now transferred to Trichur Archaeological Museum.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 21 lines. Partly Damaged. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The Script and language support this inference.
- Contents:** Jain temple inscription. Nālppattēṇṇāyiravar, two paṭṭakaḷ, the Adhikāraṇ of Tirukkuṇavāyil Tēvar, Patigeṭṭu nāṭṭār etc. make arrangements for management of Valaṇciyar paḷḷi. Those who obstruct its property are to be treated as offenders against Tirukkuṇavāy Tēvar and as those committing the five great sins. The last line seems to mention the year in illegible Grantha characters.
- Publication:** No. 561 of 1908. No. 238 of 1960. Unpublished. See N.G. Urrnithan, 'Jain Relics of Ālathūr', J.L.H., XLIV, II, pp. 537-43 for background and photo.
- Remarks:** This is probably the only Jain stone inscription from the Cēra kingdom proper. The references to 'Nālppattēṇṇāyiravar' (the forty eight thousand), Valaṇciyar paḷḷi, Tirukkuṇavāy Tēvar, etc throw much new light on the early history of Jainism in Kerala.
- No.** C. 29
- Place:** Peruvamba. Palghat. South wall of central Shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines (4 + 2 + 1). Fragmentary. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Object not clear. Mentions Ceṭṭikaḷ, Patinēṇbhūmi tīśai Āyirattaiṇṇūruvar and Valaṇciyar, and Rājēndra Cōḷa also.
- Publication:** No. 402 of 1940; No. 196 of 1943-4; No. 4 of 1967-8 (Kerala). Unpublished.
- Remarks:** The Madras Epigraphist's report says that it mentions Ceṭṭikaḷ, Patinēṇbhūmi tīśai Āyirattaiṇṇūruvar and Valaṇciyar. The Kerala epigraphist's report says that the record bears a direct reference to Rājēndra Cōḷa. This record indicates the extension of merchant guilds into Kerala in the wake of the Cōḷa invasion of Kerala.
- No.** C. 30
- Place:** Paṇamban Talī. Base of ruined Nāḷambalam in front of central Śiva shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 9 lines? Incomplete. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

- Date:** Year Nil. C.11<sup>th</sup> Century. Jupiter in Mēṣam. Month of Mithuṇam. The Script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūr of Tirupparaṃpil, Ānāyomukku Kōyil, meet unanimously in the reign of Parappūr Pūmitara Rāyirar and create a cankētam. Four 'Cērikkallu' and Cantanamānuccan are set apart as property for the temple. Fine is prescribed for violating rules.
- Publication:** No. 109 of 1956-7. T.A.S., VIII, p.39. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks:** This record provides a rare instance of 4 Cērikkal properties being jointly handed over to a temple.
- No.** C. 31
- Place:** Trippayār. Wall of the shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines (8 + 3). Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C.10<sup>th</sup> century. Reference to 'Mūlikkaḷam kaccam' and 'kaḷañcu' as well as the script and language support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāl of Tiruppuraiyār meet in the presence of Murukanāṭṭu Caṅkaran Kuṟappōḷan and unanimously enter into an agreement making provision for Nandāvilakku, Nivēccam, Kijitu, Akkiram etc. Fine prescribed for violation of rules. Mūlikkaḷaccavattai quoted.
- Publication:** R.V.R.I.B., IX, II, p. 137. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Read 'irunnu ceyta' in place of 'irineyvetak' in L.2. (Correction by present writer from original stone). This record appears to contain the original endowment of the temple.
- No.** C. 32
- Place:** Tirukkulaśēkharapuram, Koṇṇuṅallūr. Floor of the courtyard of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 16 lines. Damaged and incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Jupiter in Eḍavam. Month of Tuḷām. Ayppiyattiruvōṇam day. The script and language support this inference. The Govt. Epigraphist assigns the script approximately to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century but this is untenable.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. The four Taḷis unanimously agree to divide among themselves the revenue from a land called Neytaṟṟalai Mēkkāṭu. Those who quarrel with king's servants or Potuvāl shall forfeit their kārāṇmai.
- Publication:** No. 227 of 1895. S.I.I., V, No. 791, p. 340. Tamil transliteration. T.A.S., VI, II, pp. 192-3. Tamil transliteration and notes.
- Remarks:** This unique record establishes the joint administration of Nālu Taḷi or the four temples of the capital and their system of sharing revenue from certain sources. It also highlights the practice of ostracizing offenders with drumbeating and proclamation.



- No. C. 33
- Place: Kīṭṭali, Koḍuṅgallūr. Slab originally found in the courtyard of Siva temple. Transferred to Trichur archaeological museum.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 3 lines. Fragmentary and damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. Early part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support this inference.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Refers to the offering of rice and to places like Kanniyūr and Airāṇikkūḷam.
- Publication: A.R.A.D.C. 1100 ME (1924-25 AD), App. E, No. 36, p. 21. English Summary. A.R.A.D.C. 1103 ME (1927-8), p.4.
- Remarks: This fragmentary inscription brings out the antiquity of Kīṭṭali Śiva temple, one of the four chief Tālī temples of the capital. It also reveals the connection between this temple and Airāṇikkūḷam Brahmin village.
- No. C. 34
- Place: Chēnnamaṅgalam. Built into the Ardhamanḍapa of Kṛṣṇaswāmi temple in Kōṭṭa-kkōvilakam.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 10 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. Early part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support this inference.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paṛaiyūr Ūrār, Paraṭaiyār, and Potuvāḷ meet in the temple and unanimously fix the amount of ghee payable as rent by a person on behalf of certain plots of land which are leased out to him. The committee agrees to cancel its rights over the land and the settlers there and guarantee that they shall not increase the amount of ghee.
- Publication: T.A.S., VI, II, No. 135, pp. 189-90. Tamil transliteration, English translation and notes. Eḷamkūḷam, *Parināmanigal*, pp. 75-6. Malayalam transliteration, translation and notes.
- Remarks: This record throws light on the relation between the temple authorities and the temple tenants. Prof. Eḷamkūḷam attributes it to the 9<sup>th</sup> century and considers it as one of the earlier records of Kerala. However, it is not significantly different in language or script from Kōta Ravi inscriptions and may be attributed to the early part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.
- No. C. 35
- Place: Airāṇikkūḷam. Courtyard of Umāmahēśwara temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Grantha for the first two lines and Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha for the rest of the inscription. Language-Sanskrit in the first two lines and Old Malayalam in the remaining portion.
- Date: Year Nil. 10<sup>th</sup> century. Jupiter in Kumbham. Month of Vriccika. The script and language support this inference.
- Contents: Village Assembly resolution. Ūr of Tīruvallavāḷ, Ūr of Ayirāṇikkūḷam, and the Potuvāḷs of the two Grāmas, meeting at the temple and unanimously deciding to

amalgamate Tiruvallavāḷ, Airāṇikkalam and Cērakēśwaram temples, their properties, wealth, honour, dishonor and everything else in order to form an 'ēkagrāma' (single village). The Ūrār of both villages are hereafter required to behave accordingly or lose their position and place in the village. Kaitavārattu kaccam is quoted.

Publication: R.V.R.L.B., IX, II, p. 134. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

Remarks: This is a unique record registering the voluntary amalgamation of two Brahmin settlements. It throws light on the process by which the settlement of Airāṇikkulam, called Girijāgrahāra in the Sanskrit passage, developed into one of the four leading Brahmin settlements with a representative in the Perumāl's council. The procedure of the unification called 'ēkagrāmam' is mentioned. Kaitavāram kaccam is brought to light for the first time. The Cērakēśwaram (Jayarāgēśwaram) temple commemorates the Cera king Jayarāga or Vijayarāga.

No. C. 36

Place: Airāṇikkulam. Courtyard of Umāmashēśwara temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 9<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support this inference. The Govt. epigraphists of Cochin have also placed it in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The record may be slightly later than those of Sthānu Ravi.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār and Ūrār of Airāṇikkulam meet and unanimously decide to assign certain cērikkal lands for Tiruvārāṇal and prescribe the 'irai' for them. Fine and excommunication are prescribed for violation of rules. The author of the resolution is mentioned by name: Nenmeṇi-maṅgalattu cuvākara nārāyaṇan

Publication: R.V.R.L.B., IX, II, p. 134. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'puram' in place of 'aram' in L.10. Read 'pūlaiyey' in place of 'pinayey' in L. 12-13. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). The imprecatory portion specifies that offenders shall be considered as those who murdered their upādhyāya (spiritual preceptor) and father and kept the mother as wife.

No. C. 37

Place: Uḷiyannūr. Built into the floor of namaskāra maṇḍapa in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 33 lines. Damaged. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language -Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Reference to Amaiccuḷlurutti Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ and Kāṇam of gold as well as the script and language support this inference. The Govt. Epigraphist assigned this to the 12<sup>th</sup> century but this is untenable.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Potuvāl, Amaiccuḷlurutti Kōyilatikārikaḷ etc. meet in the temple and unanimously make a decision regarding land and tenants in a plot assigned for Nandāvilakku. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: I.A.S., VII, II, No. 15, p. 98. Tamil transliteration and notes.

Remarks: This fragmentary record serves to prove the antiquity of the temple.

- No. C. 38
- Place: Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi. Half wall of Vāṭilmāṭam in entrance corridor of temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 12 Lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Gold 'Kaḷaiṇcu' is mentioned. Script and language agree with Rāma inscriptions in the same place. Index No. A. 69 and 70.
- Contents: Temple inscription. It records an arrangement by which a person mortgages his land in return for gold from the temple and agrees to pay rice by way of interest for the sum borrowed.
- Publication: No. 18 of 1106 ME from Cochīn State. T.A.S., VIII, p. 45. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks: This inscription reveals the gold-paddy ratio. 1 kaḷaiṇcu of gold = 20 Nāḷi of paddy.
- No. C. 39
- Place: Trikkākara. Base of the Cuṛṇmaṇḍapa to the proper right of entrance.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Jupiter in Tulām, month of Kaṇṇi. The Govt. Epigraphist has ascribed this to the 13<sup>th</sup> century but this is untenable. The script and language are not substantially different from that of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions in the same temple. Gold 'Kaḷaiṇṇu' is also mentioned.
- Contents: Temple inscription. While Pōḷan Iravi is governor of the Nāḷu, some persons donate dress and ornaments to the temple.
- Publication: T.A.S., III, No. 45, p. 185. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks: This record gives an example of donation of dress and ornaments to the temple.
- No. C. 40
- Place: Kāmapuram, Ambalappuzha. Base of central shrine of Karumāḍi temple.
- Material: Stone. Block of granite with writing on one side. 2 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century or early 12<sup>th</sup> century. The script and language support the inference.
- Contents: Temple inscription. States that Putukkōṭṭattu Iravi Irāmam and Kōtai Iravi constructed the Tirikkōl (sanctum sanctorum).
- Publication: No. 58 of 1966. Unpublished.
- Remarks: Read 'putukkōṭṭattu' in place of 'arukkōṭṭattu' in L. 1. (Correction by the present writer from estampage in Govt. Epigraphist's office, Mysore). This is one of the few records to give the name of one who caused the construction of a shrine.
- No. C. 41
- Place: Tiruvanmaṇḍūr. Base of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines, each of them spread out on the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Year Nil. C. 10<sup>th</sup> century, Jupiter in Karkkataka, Month of Vriccika. Reference to Perumān Aṭikaḷ, Mūlikkaḷam rules, Kaḷaiñṇu of gold, as well as the script and language support this inference.

**Contents:** Temple inscription. Kurattikkāṭṭu Etiran kaviran purchases land and donates it to Tiruvanmandūr Ūrār for Nandāvilakku and the Ūrār entrust it to five Kaṇattār who are named here. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Mūlikkaḷam rule is quoted. Nanṇuḷanāṭṭu Munnūṇṇuvar are appointed for supervision.

**Publication:** T.A.S., V, No. 9, pp. 31-3. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This record throws light on the functions of the Kaṇattār in a temple.

**No.** C. 42

**Place:** Perunna. South base of central shrine of temple.

**Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Jupiter in Kaṇṇi. Month of Kaṇṇi. Sunday. Aśvati nakṣatra. References to 'Kaḷaiñṇu' and 'Kāṇam' of gold as well as the script and language support the inference.

**Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Tirunāḷkkaṇattār and Potuvāḷ meet in the temple and unanimously accept land from a person on condition that he and his descendants are appointed as tenants in perpetuity. The land originally belonged to Aṭiccan Kōtai, governor of Muñṇināṭu, who mortgaged it to the present owner as surety for a loan of paddy. This land is now given to the temple for Brahmin feeding on ten festival days. Therefore a provision is incorporated to the effect that in case the original loan is repaid and the land taken back by Aṭiccan Kōtai, the Ūrājar must invest that amount in another land and nominate the present owner as their tenant again. If the tenant or his descendants withdraw from the commitments, the land is to be cultivated by the Kaṇattār and Potuvāḷ themselves. Fine is prescribed for offences. Etiran Kaviran and his women and children are taken under the protection of the temple committee.

**Publication:** T.A.S., V, No. II, pp. 34-7. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

**Remarks:** This record reveals a complicated situation which throws light on the motives of persons who made land-gifts to temples. In this case the donor is surrendering land which was mortgaged to him by the governor of a province for a huge loan. The difficulty in getting repayment anticipated by the creditor, or his fear of a political magnate, seems to have prompted him to seek the protection of the temple.

**No.** C. 43

**Place:** Kumāranallūr. North wall of Nāḷambalam of Bhagavai temple.

**Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 18 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

**Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Jupiter in Kaṇṇi. References to Mūlikkaḷattoḷukkam, Perumān Aṭikaḷ, and 'Kaḷaiñṇu' of gold as well as the script and language support this inference. The Govt. Epigraphist says that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century but this is untenable.

- Contents:** Village Assembly resolution. Ūr of Kumāranallūr meet in temple and unanimously make certain rules and regulations prohibiting quarrels and violence in temple precincts and aggression against tenants and prescribing fine for Brahmin and Śūdra offenders separately. Mūjikkaḷattoḷukkam is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No. 49, pp. 191-6. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This record throws light on criminal laws and the relation between Brahmin Ūrālar and the Śūdra settlers in their village.
- No.** C. 44
- Place:** Nāvāykkūḷam, Āṟṟiṅgal. Courtyard of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Slab with writing on both sides. 25 lines (14 + 11). Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11<sup>th</sup> century. Reference to Mūjikkaḷacavattai, kaḷeṣu, and the script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Ēṟṇāṭṭu Kumaran Kaṇṭan donates gold for Tiruvilakku for Nāvākkūḷattu Tēvar. Regulations for pāṭṭam are specified. Mūjikkaḷacavattai is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S., VI, I, No. 68, p. 83. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** The donation of Tiruvilakku at Āṟṟiṅgal in South Kerala by a resident of Ēṟṇāṭṭu in North Kerala suggests that probably the man from the North was there on his way to the battle-field where the Cēra army confronted the invading Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya forces.
- No.** C. 45
- Place:** Tirunandikkara. Pillar of the rock-cut cave temple.
- Material:** Stone. Block of granite with writing on one side. 40 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 10<sup>th</sup> century. Reference to Mūjikkaḷacavattai as well as the script support this inference. The Government Epigraphist assigned this to the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the first part of the 9<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of the script but he seems to have been misled by the cave site. In fact, this and the other inscriptions referring to Cōḷa king Rājārāja's invasion, (T.A.S., I, No. XVI, E, pp. 291-2) and 'Kalam arukkal' (T.A.S., III, No. 54, pp. 200-3 and T.A.S., III, No. 56, p. 206) in the cave temple exhibit the same characteristics of script and must be attributed to the same period, i.e., close of the 10<sup>th</sup> century or beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Maṅgalaccōṟi Nārāyaṇan Cīvākaran makes land gift to Tirunandikkaraī Paṭārar for Cāntippuram, Uvaccakal, Kōyil Utaiyār, Paliyarī, Tuṭaikkumavar and Nandāvilakku. Mūjikkaḷacavattai is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No. 55, pp. 203-6. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Read 'Mūjikkaḷacavattai' in place of 'Mūjikkaḷacca-' in L.39. This record shows the southern extension of the authority of Mūjikkaḷacavattai to Tirunandikkara, formerly part of Āy territory, probably on the eve of Cōḷa Rājārāja's invasion.